STRUCTURES AND STRATIGRAPHY OF THE SO-CALLED REOCCUPATION PERIOD AT THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS, CRETE AND THE CONTEXTS OF THE LINEAR B ARCHIVES

by

I B Paterson

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Department of Classics

University of Edinburgh

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I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that the work described is entirely my own unless explicitly stated in the text.

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ABSTRACT

On the basis of evidence contained in the excavation documents and revealed by a detailed examination of the archaeological remains of the Palace at Knossos, structures referable to three separate building phases can be recognised that date to the period after the conflagration of late LM III A date. The buildings of the first of these phases in places have floors that are paved with gypsum slabs and walls covered with painted plaster and might reasonably be taken to be 'palatial'. It is considered that, in some cases, most notably in the West Wing of the palace, Evans mistakenly referred structures belonging to this phase to what he regarded as the 'Last Palace'. Instead, the structures belong to the 'palace' that Palmer and Hallager considered was rebuilt after the destruction of LM III A date. Most probably the buildings of this constructional phase date to the earliest part of the LM III B period.

Subsequently, the walls of the first phase were strengthened by structures of poor quality rubble masonry, rooms were partitioned, doors were blocked and earth floors were laid down in many parts of the palace site. It is possible that these works, many being of a remedial character, were a response to widespread damage to the buildings, possibly caused by an earthquake. Of an *ad hoc* nature, these works permitted a continuation of the administrative process at the palace. There is no evidence to suggest a change of regime.

For the most part, the structures of this phase were removed in the course of the excavations and are known only from the excavation records and early photographs. A number of structures attributable to this phase were not recognised by the excavators but can be inferred from the evidence of burnmarks still visible on many walls. The fire that terminated this period of occupancy is of LM III B date. Afterwards, a number of rooms were constructed against the N Front of the palace but the excavators provided no evidence of their date.

There is evidence that suggests that the Linear B inscriptions do not all belong to a single archive. While none can be unequivocally placed in an LM III A context, it is clear that almost all of the tablets were stratified prior to the fire of LM IIIB date. Many, which may have belonged to the palace destroyed in LM III A, were contained in makeup deposits laid down during the construction of its successor. Most of the rest occurred in deposits that are associated with the later stage repair works and were commonly accompanied by pottery of LM III B date. One assemblage, consisting of 31 tablets, appears to be the remnant of a third archive, baked by the fire that finally destroyed the palace at Knossos.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Sir Arthur Evans began his excavation at Knossos on the island of Crete on 23 March 1900 with the aim of uncovering the substantial remains known from earlier investigations[1] to exist there and that were still in places visible. He was convinced that only by excavating the remains could he verify the existence, in Crete, 'of a prehistoric system of writing' hinted at by linear characters inscribed on a seal stone found on or near the Knossos site (Evans, 1900, 4, and see Popham and Gill, 1995, 1). Within a few days of the start of the excavation his belief was confirmed by the discovery of clay tablets with inscriptions.

Initially cautious, by the end of the first campaign Evans and his assistant Duncan Mackenzie were, in their excavation records, referring to the partially uncovered complex of buildings as a palace. Thus, on 2 May 1900, Mackenzie prosaically recorded that '*W of gallery 7 the W face of a gypsum wall going NS is visible from Kalokairinos' dig and this is being cleared N and S in order that its nature may be determined. Outside this wall to the NW is a region supposed outside the palace'.* In the entry for 16 May in his notebook for 1900 (p. 74-5), Evans, in characteristically more rhetorical style, wrote '*Traces of spotted back* [of a bull] *could be seen on the more faded and perished stucco face above. In the bull area to NE the hind foot and hock of the bull relief also came to light. What a part these creatures play here! On the frescoes and reliefs, the chief design of the seals, on a steatite vase above the gate, it may be, of the Palace itself. Was not some one or other of these creatures visible on the ruined site to the early Dorian days which gave the actual tradition of the bull of Minos?'.*

In his first annual report to the British School at Athens in 1900, Evans' belief that he was excavating a palace was made abundantly clear. While he does not explicitly list the features he considers characteristic of such an establishment, clearly he was struck by the scale of the buildings and the monumental quality of some of the masonry. He was obviously impressed by the widespread occurrence of frescoes, *in situ* and as fragments, some illustrating Court personnel, and of pieces of carved stone cornice. He identified storerooms, 'state' entrances, a throne room and a bath room, describing the last as 'an essential part of a prehistoric palace'[2]. He considered that the inscribed clay tablets, found in association with clay seal-impressions at many localities, constituted an archive[3] and

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[1] Most notably by Minos Kalokairinos in 1878 (Evans, 1900, 4). For an account of the early diggings at the Palace site at Knossos and a description of the finds see Driessen (1990b).

[2] Evans, 1900, 18.

[3] See Evans, 1900, 56.

implied the presence of a resident body of administrators. Tablets and sealings owed their survival to the baking they received when the palace was destroyed by fire.

In the opening chapter of his great work, *The Palace of Minos*, Evans (1921) further emphasised the importance of the clay documents to the process of ordered government that prevailed at the Palace. He noted also the pervasive presence of religious elements and compared the Palace at Knossos to Anatolian centres in which 'the royal and the sacerdotal abode was one and the same'. He outlined the stages whereby, in his view, the power and influence of Crete in the eastern Mediterranean increased, culminating, in the later Middle and Late Minoan periods, in the settlement of large tracts of Mainland Greece. Evans' Knossocentric view of the relations between Mainland Greece and Crete in the later part of the Late Bronze Age was challenged by Wace and Blegen (1939), the debate finally ending in their favour when the decipherment of the Linear B script showed that the tablets found at Pylos and Knossos were written in the same primitive form of Greek (*see* Wace, 1959).

According to Evans, the complex at Knossos, that he had almost completely uncovered by the end of May 1902 and which in general is that which is visible at present (Fig. 1.1), was the last of a series of palaces constructed over, and in places incorporating, the remains of earlier buildings of comparable size and layout. He dated the destruction of this 'Last Palace' to the end of the LM II ceramic period, at about 1400 BC. Although, in his view, the catastrophe terminated palatial life at Knossos, it did not bring occupation of the site to a close. Thus, he noted that 'after an interval of time, traceable generally by about 25 centimetres of deposit, a large part of the building was reoccupied, and partitioned out, with the aid of cross-walls, into poorer dwellings. The new settlers who dwelt in these represented a somewhat later stage and a humbler aspect the same civilisation, marked by the style that represents the close of the Third Late Minoan Period. Only in the Domestic Quarter of the Palace - a part of which, perhaps, was almost continuously occupied - are there signs of attempts at restoration on a large scale which make it probable that dynasts of the old stock still maintained a diminished state on the Palace site'.[1]

In assigning the structures of this phase, consisting of earthen floors and walls and door-blockings constructed of poor quality rubble masonry, to the Period of Reoccupation or Partial Habitation, it is probable that Evans was responding to suggestions from his assistant Mackenzie (*see* Momigliano, 1996). However, it is evident from the passage quoted above that some uncertainty remained in Evans' mind concerning the nature of the re-occupation. Indeed, as Hood (1965, 40-1) pointed out, Evans and Mackenzie at one time envisaged more than one period of 'Reoccupation', represented by two different pottery styles (Mackenzie, 1903, 199) but the *Palace of Minos* contains no systematic

[1] Evans, 1909, 53.

account of the structures and stratigraphy of the period. From repeated references in this work to the late occupants of the site as 'squatters', it is clear that Evans came to believe that palatial life at Knossos ceased with the destruction of the Last Palace at the end of the LM II period. While he conceded that it was probable that the use of the Linear B script had survived the destruction of the Palace, he considered that the squatters 'were surely *analfabeti*'[1], thereby implying that Knossos no longer functioned as an administrative centre.

The dating by Evans of the termination of palatial life at Knossos and the baking of the Linear B tablets to the LM II period was queried by Palmer (1956, 127) who pointed to links between the Knossian inscriptions and those found at the Palace of Pylos on mainland Greece. He raised the possibility that the two sets of tablets were contemporaneous. Blegen (1958) noted that the tablets from Crete and sites on the mainland were 'astonishingly similar' and suggested that the Knossian tablets had been preserved in the remains of a palace that was burnt in the Late Helladic III B [=LM III B] period. He advocated that Evans' conclusion should be tested by a re-examination of the evidence relating to the find circumstances of the tablets.

In 1960, in articles in the *Observer* (3 July) and the *Listener* (27 October), Palmer announced his provisional findings of just such an investigation, following them up (Palmer, 1961a) by the first of a long series of books and papers. In these, on the basis of his reading of the excavation documents, he challenged Evans' interpretation of the stratigraphical relations of the Linear B tablets with the successive building phases at Knossos. He pointed out that Evans' final conclusions as presented in *The Palace of Minos* were not always reconcilable with the excavation records and went so far as to accuse him of deliberate suppression or distortion of evidence. He considered that the tablets from Knossos formed a single archive that was approximately contemporaneous with those recovered at Pylos. He argued that the Linear B tablets occurred in the same contexts as pottery of the LM III B period and concluded that the palaces at Pylos and Knossos had been destroyed by fire at about 1200 BC or later. The language of the tablets and the artifacts depicted on ideograms were, he considered, consistent with the later date.

Hood (1961; 1962) doubted that Palmer could justify the claim, necessary for his hypothesis, that *all* the deposits of Linear B tablets had been wrongly assigned by the excavators to the period of the Last Palace rather than to the end of the 'Reoccupation Period', some 200 years later. He awaited a fuller account of the evidence. This was supplied by Palmer in his books *Mycenaeans and Minoans* (Palmer, 1961b) and *On the Knossos Tablets* (Palmer, 1963a). In these he described the find circumstances of the Linear B tablets and repeated the claim that in some cases they were found in deposits that also

[1] Evans, 1928, 543, Footnote 1.

contained pottery of the LM III B period. In other cases, as in the W Magazines area, the tablets were contained in deposits that rested on floors from beneath which a number of sherds of LM III B pottery had been recovered. He concluded that the Knossian tablets were associated with a palace that had been constructed at an early date in the same LM III B period.

In the second part of *On the Knossos Tablets*, Boardman (1963), also referring to the original excavation data of Evans and Mackenzie, presented an alternative view, rejecting Palmer's arguments and supporting Evans' concept that the tablets were baked during the final destruction of the Last Palace. However, he proposed that the date of this event be moved forwards to LM III A:1, in accord with a suggestion by Popham (1963), after which, in the LM III B period, there was a partial re-occupation. He dissociated the tablets from the LM III B vases with which they apparently occurred, primarily on the grounds that the tablets were burnt, broken and dispersed whereas the vases were intact and unburnt. Consequently, although the pottery and the tablets formed part of the same deposit they were not necessarily of the same date.

Hood (1965) plotted a selection of the structures attributed by Evans to the Reoccupation but rejected the concept itself, considering that, with only a few exceptions, the floors associated with the structures were at the same level as the floors of the Last Palace of Evans. In only a few cases were there floors that separated the debris of the 'Last Palace' from the vases of the 'Reoccupation'. Accordingly, he concluded that, for the most part, the mainly coarse ware pottery, that accompanied the Linear B tablets and had been attributed to the 'Reoccupation', really belonged to the Last Palace. He considered that there was no reason for the coarse ware to be separated from fine decorated pottery of LM III A2 date found in the deposit laid down when the Last Palace was destroyed.

It is to be noted that Hood attributed to Evans the belief that when the 'Reoccupation' began the floors of the 'Last Palace' were cleared of debris and restored to use and that deposit accumulated above them to a depth of about 25 cms during the period of the 'Reoccupation'. It is clear, however, that Evans (1909, 53; 1935, 736) considered that the 25 cm thick deposit had accumulated in the interval prior to the start of the 'Reoccupation'. When Popham (1964) assigned to the LM III B period the 'Reoccupation pottery' widely dispersed through the Palace (Popham, 1964, see plate Ia), this placed Hood in a position whereby his conclusion that the Linear B tablets and the 'Reoccupation pottery' occurred together appeared to coincide with the view held by Palmer (*see* Palmer, 1973a, 61-2). Popham (1966a) confirmed that the pottery of the LM III A1 and LM III A2 styles was in use at the time of the destruction of the 'Last Palace' and concluded that this event had taken place early in the LM III A2 period.

Hood (1966) conceded that there had been some later occupation of the Palace site but that this had been confined to the South Basements area. He divided the vessels described by Popham (1964) into three main groups and argued that only those of the first group, all from South Basement rooms, were of LM III B date. He assigned an LM III A date to the vessels of the second group, including the couple-amphorae found in association with Linear B tablets in the N Entrance area, and attributed them to the destruction of the 'Last Palace'. Hood's reclassification of the 'Reoccupation pottery' was firmly rejected by Popham (1966b).

Popham (1970) published his definitive account of the pottery, predominantly of early LM III A age but including some sherds that were earlier as well as a few 'intrusive' fragments of LM III B age, that was associated with the remains of the 'Last Palace' at Knossos. He proposed an early LM III A2 date for its destruction. He attributed the preservation of the Linear B tablets to this destruction, stating that the evidence was most clearly observed in the W Magazines, where there had been no reoccupation. He considered that the final destruction of the Palace and allied buildings was followed by a partial reoccupation.

By this time, Palmer had moved from his original position that the structures identified as the Last Palace by Evans had been built in the LM III B period. He now accepted that the 'Last Palace' of Evans had been destroyed in LM III A2 as argued by Popham but considered that a new palace had been built over its remains in the LM III B period. It was from the remains of this reconstructed palace that the Linear B archive had been recovered. Henceforth, he referred to the 'Last Palace' of Evans as the 'Penultimate Palace' at Knossos (Palmer, 1969b). He was able to welcome Popham's account of the 'destruction pottery' of LM III A1-2 date but pointed out (Palmer, 1973a) that in most if not all cases it was from sub-floor contexts. By this, Palmer meant that the pottery had lain beneath the floors of the LM III B buildings that he regarding as belonging to the Last Palace at Knossos.

Responding, Popham (1975) restated his conclusion that the bulk of the abundant LM III A pottery was associated with the final destruction of the Palace at Knossos - that is, the Last Palace according to Evans. He conceded that some LM III A pottery, including a kylix from a cist in the Long Corridor (Popham, 1970, plate 11f), came from beneath floors. However, he considered that in the W Magazines area, these floors, which sealed the cists in the Long Corridor and elsewhere, were constructed in the course of repairs carried out immediately prior to the final destruction of the Palace. The floors were, in any case, covered by deposit that contained the 'destruction' pottery, also of LM III A date. He discussed occurrences of supposed LM III B sherds that purportedly occurred in association with LM III A pottery in sub-floor contexts and expressed doubts regarding their reliability.

Thus, by the early 1970s, the views of the chief protagonists in the debate regarding the date when palatial life came to an end at Knossos had crystallised. While both agreed that a palace had been destroyed during the early part of LM III A2 about 1375 B.C, Popham believed that the buildings of LM III B date constructed over its ruins had been occupied by the illiterate squatters of the Reoccupation. Palmer, on the other hand, considered that palatial life had resumed and continued until brought to a close by a final conflagration that baked the Linear B tablets. In the years that followed, both restated their cases many times in books and papers (e.g. Popham, 1988; 1994; 1997; Palmer, 1976; 1978; 1981, 1984).

As the supporters of the opposing views were drawing upon the same body of evidence there seemed little prospect of reaching agreement on the date of the demise of Knossos as a major, if not the major, administrative centre on Crete. However, a new approach to the problem of the stratigraphy of the palace, that combined examination of the structural remains with analysis of the excavation documents, was already yielding fresh insights. Thus in a short account of the visible structures in the N Entrance area, Woodard (1972) had noted the distribution of scorchmarks on certain walls and floors (*see* Chapter 5). He considered that after the destruction of LM III A the palace site had remained unoccupied for a considerable period and recognised several construction phases in the subsequent reoccupation of the N Entrance area in the LM III B period. He noted that the Linear B tablets occurred on or above floors of the reoccupation. Nevertheless, as the tablets were 'obviously Palatial in date', he concluded that they were no longer in the places where they came to rest as a result of the fire that had destroyed the Palace in LM III A but had been washed in. He did not give details of how this might have happened and it is possible that his prejudices had overcome his objectivity.

A major contribution to the debate is that of Hallager (1977 *and see* Chapter 5). On the basis of a detailed examination of the W Magazines area and the documents describing its excavation, he concluded that structures belonging to two main building phases were present. These included two pavements of gypsum slabs separated by a deposit which he argued was 'constructional' or 'fill'. He noted that structures of the earlier phase, that, in his view, belonged to the 'Last Palace' of Evans, were smoke-blackened in places and that some of the sherds found in the fill deposit overlying the lower paved floor showed signs of burning. He argued that the fill represented the destruction deposit of the Last Palace and considered that the pottery from the deposit indicated an early LM III A date for the destruction. He considered that the manner in which the relatively few surviving sherds of the large Palace Style pithoid jars were dispersed through the Palace was not consistent with Evans' claim that the vases had fallen from upper floors at the time of the destruction. He further argued that the pottery provided a *terminus post quem* early in LM III A for the subsequent rebuilding of the W Magazines and of the entire palace. He listed sherds and vases from the Magazines area that he considered might be of LM III B date. Most of these were attributable to the early diggings by Kalokairinos. He noted

marks of burning on sherds and intact or complete vessels of LM III B date from the Palace in general. He considered that this was clear evidence that it had been destroyed by fire in the LM III B period (p. 91-3) but reserved his position regarding the precise date of the destruction. Although accepting that in all probability there had been a Mycenaean administrative centre on Crete during LM III B, Hallager was cautious about identifying it with the Palace at Knossos. He was not prepared to commit himself on the question of the date of the Linear B tablets but noted that there was no evidence that unequivocally demonstrated the presence of tablets *prior* to the LM III A destruction. Popham (1979) was dismissive of Hallager's findings with regard to the pottery.

Mirié (1979), from a detailed examination of the structures of the Throne Room area in the West Wing and of the evidence contained in the excavation documents, identified a sequence of three floor levels (*see* Chapter 5). She recognised corresponding floor levels in the Central Court, the uppermost being of LM III A or later date, as shown by pottery recovered from tests sunk beneath it in 1913, and thus matching in date the late floor that covered the cists in the Long Corridor (Popham, 1970, 55-6).

An important contribution was the publication by Catling and others (1980) of the results of an investigation by means of optical emission spectography of more than a hundred LM III B stirrup jars with Linear B inscriptions, found at various sites in mainland Greece and on Crete. This modified the findings of an earlier study using the method (Catling and Millet, 1965), which had indicated that the main source of the Cretan vases was East Crete, and instead identified Chania in West Crete as the main manufacturing and distribution centre. Earlier, Palmer (1971; 1972; 1973a) had stressed the importance of the inscribed vases in demonstrating the continuing literacy into the LM III B period in Crete and, in particular, at Knossos, where the discovery of one such vessel had been made in excavations at the Unexplored Mansion (Popham, 1969). Catling and others concluded finally that the effect of their investigation 'was to sensibly weaken the strength of the case that associates the Knossian Linear B exclusively with the destruction early in LM III A2'. A survey by Kanta (1980) of the known LM III sites on Crete, made it clear that, regardless of the status of the Palace at Knossos, LM III B was a time of increased population and prosperity. Hallager (1987) argued that the evidence of the inscribed jars strongly indicated the presence of palatial administrative centres in the LM III B period and that the existence of such a centre at Khania should not be ruled out.

Hiller (1980) re-examined the documentary evidence relating to the South Propylaeum and agreed with Palmer in dating the last building activity there to LM III B. Niemeier (1982) contributed a comprehensive review of the literature pertaining to the debate over the dating of the final destruction of the Palace of Knossos and of the Linear B tablets. On the evidence from the South Propylaeum area and three other regions in the Palace, he unequivocally supported Palmer's view of the later date and endorsed Hallager's interpretation of the stratigraphy in the W Magazines area. He considered that a

number of the large pithoi found there were of LM III B date. He supported Palmer's concept of the unity of the Linear B archive, dismissing the excavators' evidence that at five localities, at least, tablets had been recovered from beneath floors and other structures. He reaffirmed his allegiance to Palmer's view in other papers (Niemeier, 1981; 1985), in which he summarised in diagrammatic form[1] the differing views on the Late Minoan stratigraphy of the Palace. In the first of these works, he noted that most of the clay sealings from the Palace had been impressed by seals not later than LM III A in date and that only six were possibly from later seals (Niemeier, 1983, note 37). He pointed out that this applied also to sealings found in LM III B contexts at Pylos on Mainland Greece.

In recent years, some of the heat has gone out of the debate over the final destruction date but much pertinent research on several fronts has been carried on at the Palace. Raison (1988; 1993) published detailed accounts of the surviving structures in the NW Quarter and the W Front, with his interpretation of their stratigraphical development (*see* Chapters 5 and 6). His publications included copious extracts from the excavation documents and numerous photographs of the remains as excavated and as they are at present. New data, revealed by excavations in the South Front of the Palace, were reported by Hood and Momigliano (1994 *and see* Chapter 3).

Among the most important publications of this period were those by Driessen (1988; 1990a and b; 1997) in which he re-examined the evidence from the SE part of the West Wing of the Palace. He recognised five architectural phases (for further discussion see Chapter 5) but a number of his conclusions were, with some justification, criticised by Popham (1993). Most crucially, in the first serious attack on the concept of the unity of the archive, Driessen argued that the large body of inscriptions found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets was of earlier date than the bulk of the archive that he considered was baked by the fire of LM III A.

Panagiotaki (1993) carried out an examination of the excavation documents relating to the Olive Press Room (Room of the Stone Drainheads) in order to determine the stratigraphical context of a number of sealings found there. She followed this up with a study of the finds, architecture and structural development of the Central Palace Sanctuary and adjoining area in the West Wing of the Palace (1999), recognising three or even four architectural phases (*see* Chapter 5). However, despite cleaning operations in a number of rooms and several tests, Panagiotaki was unable to add significantly to the body of evidence for dating the structures.

Evely and others (1994) described fragments of Linear B tablets of uncertain context found in the Unexplored Mansion (Popham, 1984) and in the high ground E of the N Entrance Passage at the

[1] A modified version of this is given here as Fig. 1.2.

Palace (Catling, 1988). Olivier (1993; 1994) announced that a Linear B tablet found in an LM III B1 context at Chania had been written by scribe 115 of Knossos, thereby, it would seem, dating the Knossian archive. Sadly, this claim was immediately rebutted by Palaima (1993) and withdrawn (Olivier, 1996). Nonetheless, Godart and Tzedakis (1993) considered that the handwriting of the Chaniote scribe 115 so closely resembled that of the Knossian scribe that he might well have been taught his craft at the Knossian Court.

Popham and Gill (1995) published an account of the seals and sealings from the Knossos. Based upon an earlier study by Gill (1967), the new work concentrated on the sealings of known provenance considered to relate to the final destruction of the Palace. Commonly found in association with assemblages of Linear B tablets (*see* Chapter 7), and dated mainly on stylistic grounds (Kenna, 1960; 1964), the stratigraphical significance of the sealings is diminished by the tendency of sealstones to survive as heirlooms (Niemeier, 1982). However, they had an important part to play in the administrative process (Weingarten, 1988; 1994; 1997).

Clearly, there is a serious, and as yet unresolved, difference of opinion concerning the date when Palace life was brought to a close at Knossos. As summed up by Dickinson (1994), 'The dispute is between those who favour what has become a standard view following Popham's work (1970), placing the destruction early in LM IIA2, equivalent to an absolute date somewhere in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and those who favour a date within or at the end of LM III B, so probably between the middle and end of the thirteenth century (Hallager, 1977; Niemeier, 1982). There is, however, a middle view which would place the destruction late on or at the end of LM III A2, thus quite late in the fourteenth century (cf. Hood, 1971). . .' He was inclined to favour the compromise position and thought it possible that some of the 'Reoccupation' material might be of LM III A2 date, thereby explaining the reported associations of 'late', that is, LM III B pottery and Linear B texts.

Ironically, it was the concept of the unity of the archive, advocated from the first by Palmer[1], and adhered to by him throughout, that constituted the greatest impediment to the acceptance of his argument for its late date. Thus, of the two given options, it was easier to believe that the archive was associated with the remains, obviously burnt, of high status buildings of LM III A date than with those of ramshackle buildings of dubious status of LM III B date. This was particularly the case as the only

[1] 'Meanwhile, I may state that no doubt remains in my mind that the large coherent deposits of tablets are all coeval with the pottery which for Evans marks the end of the 'squatter' period. A further point: there are enough cross-references between the groups of tablets found in the different parts of the palace to guarantee their homogeneity'. (Palmer, 1960a).

evidence that the rebuilt 'palace' had been destroyed by fire was the scattering of burnt vessels and sherds listed by Hallager (1977).

The concept of a single archive had been queried by Hooker (1964), who considered that the Linear B script could have survived unchanged over long periods and suggested that the only satisfactory means of linking the tablets from various deposits was through their scribal hands rather than their contents. Publication shortly afterwards of *Les Scribes de Knossos* by Olivier (1967), allotting most of the inscriptions to specific scribes, appeared to justify Palmer's stance as assemblages of tablets from different localities could now be definitely linked with one another. Nevertheless, there remained the evidence in the excavation documents, known to Palmer, which indicated that a number of tablets had been found in earlier stratigraphical contexts than the rest[1]. Also, in the case of the Room of the Chariot Tablets assemblage, as Driessen (1990, 268) stressed, only a single tablet served as a link with the remainder of the archive and, given the haphazard nature of Evans' excavation, it was possible that it had been wrongly located.

Driessen's rejection of the concept of the unity of the archive, if justified, opens up the debate regarding the late history of the Palace. Driessen considered that both elements of his divided archive belonged to the LM II/III A palace, thereby denying palatial status to any subsequent occupation of the site. However, the arguments of Palmer, Hallager, Niemeier and others are not easily ignored and the possibility that the early tablets were associated with the palace destroyed in LM III A and the later ones with a palace that was constructed over its remains cannot be readily dismissed. It is apparent that no progress towards solving the problem of the late occupation of the palace site is possible without a greater knowledge of the nature, purpose, structural connections and stratigraphical contexts of the late structures and their associated deposits. Although several of the above-mentioned writers, most notably Evans himself, Palmer, in his many publications, Hood (1965), Hallager (1977) and Raison (1988; 1993) had discussed various late structures described by the excavators, no systematic survey of them had been carried out in the palace as a whole.

The present investigation is an attempt to make good the deficiency and to recreate as far as possible the excavation of the late structures, as they were encountered and subsequently removed. It consists of an attempt to determine the actual excavation facts by means of an analysis of all the information held in documentary form, textual, graphic and photographic, combined with a detailed examination of the surviving structures on the palace site. Much of the documentary evidence consists of uncorroborated statements by one or other of the excavators. However, comparison of their descriptions with the evidence provided by near-contemporaneous photographs or the surviving

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[1] See Niemeier (1982) for a discussion of the tablets and Chapter 7 of this work.

remains of the Palace shows them to be generally reliable reporters. The study of the surviving structures on the palace site occupied a total of about two months during the years 1996 to 1998. Works carried out during this period by the Ephoria to protect the remains and to improve the flow of visitors through the site have in a few cases concealed or removed evidence.

All the structures considered here lie within the main body of the palace and were mostly uncovered during the campaigns of 1900 to 1902. According to the excavation documents, they consisted of earth floors, rubble walls and the blockings of doors and passageways and were commonly described as 'late', 'poorly constructed' or 'negligible'. However, other structures were apparently less obvious and, for example, walls in the vicinity of the Schoolroom in the East Wing of the Palace were recognised as Reoccupation structures and dismantled only in 1929. It is evident that alterations to the fabric of a building cannot be made in isolation. Thus, the blocking of a doorway or stairway or the raising a floor level is liable to affect all of a group of interconnecting room-spaces and may require that further works be carried out. An attempt has been made to identify groupings of rooms, where a number of structures having physical or logical links with one another have been imposed on the original fabric, with a view to determining possible motives for implementing the works.

The structures of the 'Reoccupation' rested upon or were appended to more substantial constructions such as might reasonably be considered 'palatial'. As these were left intact by the excavators and are still visible today, they must constitute the Last Palace, as recognised by the excavators. However, if, as Palmer argued, some or all of these structures are actually of LM III B date, then, logically, according to Evans' definition, the Last Palace is itself of Reoccupation date. The present study is an attempt to resolve this paradox by identifying within the sequence the horizon corresponding to the conflagration that Popham had assigned a late LM III A date. As it could not be taken for granted that all the late structures dated from the same period, the associated pottery, mostly from the earliest years of the excavation, was also examined. An analysis of the principal assemblages of Linear B tablets was carried out to test the viability of Driessen's suggestion that the archive was divisible.

Full reconstruction of the stratigraphical sequence throughout the Palace is not possible. As was known to the excavators, it was apparently the general practice after a destruction of the Palace for the occupants to clear the remains down to floor level while retaining any walls that survived in good condition and incorporating them in the new building. Ashlar blocks, doorjambs and threshold slabs, column bases and paving stones were salvaged and incorporated in the new walls (Figs. 1.3, 1.4), the associated earthy debris, together with its pottery, being reused as fill or the makeup for floors. Only a well-conducted, fully documented modern excavation could have coped with so complex an archaeological situation. As it is, the information supplied in the excavation documents varies greatly in quantity and quality. Nevertheless, some general conclusions are possible. The position in the

sequence of the horizon that marked the fire-destruction of LM III A date can be identified in places with some confidence. The structures that post-date this destruction level must be assigned to the Reoccupation Period. They can be shown to be the product of three distinct construction phases which are here named RP1, RP2 and RP3 (for Reoccupation Period 1, 2 and 3). The earliest of these, the RP1 phase, was responsible for works of reasonably high quality and included the laying of stone paved floors. It is considered that this phase, which is not everywhere present, corresponds to the 'rebuilding' of the palace advocated by Palmer and Hallager. In the second, more widely distributed, RP2 phase were built the 'negligible' structures that Evans attributed to the Reoccupation and here are interpreted as being, for the most part, remedial works. Whether their purpose was to prolong the life of an ageing building or to repair damage caused by seismic shock or hostile activity is uncertain. Structures of the RP3 phase are confined to the area of and adjoining the N Entrance Passage.

What became clear in the course of the study was the importance of the information provided by the scorchmarks still visible on walls and floors in the palace. Although the scorchmarks are widely distributed and often referred to in the literature in general terms, they have received no systematic study. How the scorchmarks are manifested depends on the composition of the building stones of which the palace walls were constructed, as well as the nature and severity of the fire. Gypsum, both in the equigranular, crystalline form generally used for larger members such as orthostates, wall blocks and jambs and the fine-grained laminated form used for paving slabs and dadoes, may have been especially susceptible. The water of crystallisation is driven off at relatively low temperatures, destroying the crystal structure and converting the gypsum to white semi-anhydrite. When burnt in contact with organic material, such as oil, the gypsum is turned black. In some cases the blackening is pervasive, in others it is patchy. In some of the cists in the floors of the W Magazines, the wall slabs are burnt throughout but only their lower parts are blackened, indicating that the cists were only partly filled with inflammable liquid at the time of the fire.

The most widely used building stone on site, the so-called *poros* limestone, is composed of shell debris in a fine-grained matrix. This is normally cream-coloured as a result of traces of iron compounds, perhaps mainly limonite. When exposed to fire, however, the iron impurity is converted to iron oxide (hematite) that is purple-red in colour. As a result, the surface of burnt limestone blocks shows various shades of pale orange pink to a dark orange red, depending on the severity of the burning and the amount of impurity present. Commonly, the surface of the limestone develops a purple-grey sheen and may be cracked. In a few cases, the discoloration of the limestone can be seen to have penetrated to a depth of several centimetres. Rarely, perhaps where burning oil has flowed over the floor, the former level of this is recorded on the wall by a dark brown band, from 2 to 3 centimetres wide.

Some of the scorching visible on pavements and walls can be attributed to the destruction of the Palace by fire in late LM III A times. It is clear, however, that in places the scorchmarks delineate structures, mostly earth floors, that were not recognised by the excavators and must belong to the Reoccupation Period - almost certainly to its RP2 phase. On the other hand, structures such as the floors and wall plaster in the W Magazines area (see Chapter 5), that are attributable to the RP1 phase, have not been burnt. This would suggest that the object of the widespread works of the RP2 phase was the repair of damage caused by an earthquake rather than hostile action. The occurrence of Linear B tablets in the deposit that overlies the unburnt RP1 floors (see Chapter 5) implies, however, that at least some parts of the Palace complex were affected by fire prior to the carrying out of the RP2 works. The general occupation of the Palace site was brought to a close by the fire that ended the RP2 phase. There is good evidence to show that the structures of the RP3 phase of the 'Reoccupation' post-date this final conflagration

Evidence that there was a conflagration of LM III B date at Knossos does not necessarily mean that all, or indeed any, of the surviving Linear B tablets were indurated by it. However, it weakens the argument that the tablets *must* have been baked in the fire of LM III A date, the only one previously known to have left its traces on the structural remains. Hallager (1977) pointed out that it cannot be shown that any tablets were contained in deposit of undoubted LM III A date whereas there is evidence that some, at least, and possibly all the tablets occurred in contexts of LM III B date. Even if this were the case, it does not preclude that possibility that some or all the tablets were scribed prior to the destruction of the Palace in LM III A times but it would demand that the LM III A destruction deposit with its tablets had been reused for fill in the buildings of the LM III B reoccupation. The present study suggests that, in fact, the great majority of the Linear B tablets were already stratified when the LM III B fire occurred. However, this does not mean that these tablets were necessarily baked by the LM III A fire, especially if it can be shown that not all the tablets are of the same date.

For comparative purposes, a study of the so-called Unexplored Mansion at Knossos was carried out. This building, excavated in relatively modern times, is similar in age and architecture to the later Palace and, like the Domestic Quarter, is sited upon a bench cut into a hillside. The study involved a detailed examination of its surviving structures and an analysis of the published excavation report. The results of the re-examination are presented in Appendix 8.

Chapter 2

THE EXCAVATION AND THE EXCAVATION DATA

The Site and the Excavation

The Palace site at Knossos is located on a spur that extends eastwards from the village of that name into the valley of the Kairatos River. Bedrock within the site and on the lower slopes of the river valley is a greenish grey silty mudstone locally known as '*kouskouras*'. The nearest source of building stone consists of outcrops of gypsum on Gypsadhes Hill, about a kilometre distant from the site. Although soft and somewhat soluble, (*see* Wunderlich, 1975, 104) gypsum was extensively used in both structural and decorative contexts in the later palace buildings. The most common stone employed, however, was cream-coloured shelly limestone ('*poros*') that cropped out on the upper slopes of the valley and was extensively quarried, for example, at Agia Irini (Evans, 1921, 532 and fig. 388).

The site is in the nature of a tell, its form being emphasised by the build-up of more than 10m of occupation debris ranging in age back to the Neolithic Period. Although some structures were visible prior to the commencement of the excavation (Evans, 1901, 4), there is no indication that Evans carried out a detailed survey of these and of the site in general or that any attempt was made to determine the surface contours of the land. The latter omission has serious consequences when attempting to determine the stratigraphy of the Palace as the excavators commonly recorded the level at which floors, pottery, tablets and other finds lay by reference to the original ground surface rather than to a fixed datum or an identifiable surviving architectural feature.

An attempt has been made to reconstruct the original landform using the given depths beneath the ground surface of floors and other, still recognisable features. The relevant data contained in Mackenzie's Daybooks are not only sparse but are unevenly dispersed about the Palace. However, entries in the Daybooks that describe damage caused by the plough to the tops of pithoi, the comment by Evans (1901, 68) that 'rubble walls . . . were well preserved almost to the surface level', the fact that a number of structures were visible prior to excavation, and the photographs taken at the time of excavation all imply that the ground surface had generally lain close above the tops of the surviving walls of the Palace. It was presumed that the walls owed their survival at their present height to the support afforded by the destruction debris that collapsed around them. Accordingly, in the course of the present study measurements of the present height of the original walls were taken at many points and an arbitrary 0.30m was added when deriving the contours on Fig. 2.1. In theory, by combining the plot of the original ground surface with a contoured plan prepared for the present ground floor of the Palace, a contour map of the thickness of deposit removed during the excavation can be derived. In

practice, the contours proposed for the original ground surface are speculative and the present floors of the palace do not everywhere correspond to those recorded during the initial excavation. It is possible, however, to delimit areas where the Late Minoan deposits that covered the Palace floors were greater than the average thickness of about 1.75m (Fig. 2.2). The significance of these areas is discussed in later chapters.

Evans commenced his excavation on 23 March 1900 and by the end of May 1902, after three campaigns (Table 2.1), what Evans in his account - '*The Palace of Minos*' - termed the Last Palace had been almost completely cleared down to floors that were mostly paved with limestone or gypsum slabs. The Palace covers an area of some 14 500 m^2 and had been buried by deposit with an average thickness of about 1.75 m. Thus, in a little over 200 days, a total of over 25 000 m^3 of deposit were removed by hand.

Table 2.1 The Calendar of the Excavation

1900
23 March to 25 May
50 working days (3 day's work lost through bad weather)
Up to 150 men

1901
12 February to 24 May
87 working days (3 day's work lost through bad weather)
Up to 170 men

1902
23 March to 15 May
78 working days (5 day's work lost through bad weather)
Up to 230 men

Grand total 215 days

According to Evans (1900, 36), excavation, at least initially, was carried out 'by means of the gradual removal of the earth above in successive layers from the surface. . . .'. Presumably the layers were of some arbitrary thickness as there is no indication that they represented distinct strata. However, it would appear that once the excavators had located the walls of a room and established the nature and depth of the floor, the remaining deposit was cleared 'in section' as if working a quarry face. Much of the material was passed through a sieve in order to recover small finds - a procedure that is not always adopted in modern digs. On the other hand, comments by Mackenzie such as '*The soil is now being reserved for sifting and this was started late in the day in recess 3 on this having been completely*

cleared' [1] (31_**D.1901/II:22-3**) and reference to the removal of earth *'to a convenient place for sifting'* (32_**D.1901/II:66**) indicate that the deposit was not sieved as it was removed and that only a general location can be given for any finds recovered by this means.

Mirié (1979) would seem justified when she pointed out that 'Die Methode, Gebäude entlang ihrer Mauern aus der Erde herauszugraben, hatte natürlich wesentliche Nachteile. Sie zerstörte oft schon vorweg die stratigraphischen Zusammenhänge, ehe sie überhaupt beobachtet werden konnten'. Not only was the relationship of one architectural feature with another commonly destroyed or ignored, or at any rate not recorded, the excavators at times failed to realise that more than one stratum had been penetrated. The final clearance of the rooms was apparently carried out with little or no supervision except when the deposit was found to contain important finds such as Linear B tablets, fragments of fresco or small finds in enamel, gold, ivory or faience, the extraction of which is described in some detail. Even then, the definition of the spatial and contextual location of the finds commonly lacks precision. Thus, of the 4164 Linear B tablets listed in Chadwick and others (1986-1998), the find places of only about one-third could be agreed by Palmer (1963a) and Olivier (1967) and, for many of these, only a general location rather than a specific context is available. Similarly, many of the clay sealings lack a find place (Gill, 1960).

In a few parts of the Palace, notably in the N Entrance area and in the Domestic Quarter, where the excavators realised that more than one stratum was present, it is specifically stated from which deposit the reported finds were obtained. More commonly, however, the excavators apparently did not realise that the deposit was stratified or failed to keep separate the finds from two adjacent strata. A particular problem lay in the recognition and tracing of earth floors, as is clear from the Daybook entry for 8 April 1901. '*The floor level is very difficult to define. About 1.50 from the W end and 2.7 down, on having got inadvertently below the floor level. . .*' (**D.1901/I:67**). The entry for 26 April 1901 in Mackenzie's Daybook is also revealing: '*In the room 24)c,2 the floor level was reached on Wednesday morning. Immediately fragments of fresco with some design began to turn up. The fragments were found underneath a deposit of clay like a simple flooring and beneath the fragments was a stratum of red earth, apparently of another floor. Later some other more important bits came out by accident as earth was being removed for passage through the sieves. That the fragments underlay the clay had not been understood* [by the workers] *and this accounted for the reappearance of fragments after the first ones had come out. It was now apparent that the whole floor would have to be searched by the original excavators and this was decided on for part of next day's work'* (25_**D.1901/I:92**).

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[1] Italic font denotes passages quoted directly from the Daybooks of Mackenzie and the notebooks of Evans.

Mackenzie's admission in 1924, when reporting on the pottery from the Neolithic houses being excavated beneath the pavement of the Central Court[1], indicates that the problem of distinguishing different layers in a sequence persisted throughout the excavations at Knossos. It has important consequences for the stratigraphy of the site and the contexts of the finds, particularly for those such as sealings and fragments of tablets that were recovered by sieving. In cases where stratification was not recognised, finds from two or more strata may have been regarded as being from a single context. All in all, the comment by McDonald and Thomas (1990, 119) that ' the early excavation of Knossos was conducted with no more refined technique than Schliemann's later campaigns', although harsh, seems justified.

Without doubt the greatest shortfall lay in the lack of adequate supervision of a large untrained work force dispersed at from six to ten, often widely separated locations in the Palace. Indeed, it would appear that Mackenzie was the only experienced archaeologist permanently on site, the architect T Fyfe surveying the remains, while, in the first campaign, F B Welch reported on the pottery. The only daily record of the excavation was the Daybook maintained throughout by Mackenzie. However, this is more a diary than a true excavation record and commonly lacks important details. Evans kept notebooks that were even less systematic although constituting an important source of information, especially with regard to the identification and location of finds. Many photographs were taken during the excavation but these concentrated on the architecture and only rarely show artifacts in their original depositional context.

The imperfections of the records led Haskell (1989, 110) to conclude that 'Redigging Knossos through a re-excavation of Evans's and Mackenzie's notebooks is not productive'. He cited the differing chronologies advanced by Palmer and Boardman for the stages associated with the Linear B tablets and commented out that 'The basic flaw in this approach is that the stratigraphic evidence at Knossos is so hopelessly confused that one can come up with virtually any reconstruction of events at the Palace'. However, if the social and economic relations of the palace at Knossos during its later stages with the rest of Crete are to be determined, its chronology must first be established. It is only by examining and, if possible, supplementing, the available body of evidence from the Palace that this can be achieved. Certainly this is the stance

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[1] *'Last year, however, the pottery was treated as a whole and as belonging to a single phase and in this phase the sherds that showed analogy with the pottery of Pyrgos were treated as more or less contemporary with those that have a more Neolithic stamp. The reason for this was that in the investigation of last year we had not clearly realised the fact that we had to do not with one stratum of habitation but with two and that underlying the remains of walls coming first in order underneath the foundations of the Central Court pavement we had accidentally touched a deeper lying earlier system'* (**D.1924:15**).

adopted by almost all the researchers at the Palace mentioned in the previous chapter, whether their interest has been in the architecture, the stratigraphical development of the site or in the finds.

The procedure adopted here was to compare the information available about any location in the writings and sketches contained in the excavation documents by Mackenzie, Evans and Fyfe with one another and with the excavation photographs and the surviving remains. The remains of the entire Palace were examined and a photographic record taken of many of the structures, especially those showing the effects of fire. In a number of cases, it is obvious that the distribution of the scorchmarks on walls does not relate to the present pavements but implies the existence of floors at a somewhat higher level. All the sherd pottery retained in the Stratigraphical Museum from the campaigns of 1900 -1902 was examined and compared with the descriptions by Mackenzie in his Daybooks and Pottery Notebooks. While in many cases there were assemblages that matched Mackenzie's descriptions, a considerable number of samples lacked a description and *vice versa*. Sketches by Mackenzie in his Pottery Notebooks of particular sherds were compared with photographs in the Ashmolean Museum that illustrate sherds from the Palace. More than 40 specific identifications were made.

The Data Sources

The existence of many of the late structures is known only from the original excavation documents, of which a considerable body survives although of variable quality. The most important source of information on the architectural remains consists of the Daybooks of Duncan Mackenzie, Evans' assistant. The Daybooks are in some cases corroborated and occasionally supplemented by the notebooks of Evans and the Survey Books of the resident architect Theodore Fyfe. Of very great importance as a means of validating the written documents are the numerous black and white photographs taken during the excavation or shortly afterwards. A considerable amount of pottery is available for examination in the Stratigraphic Museum at Knossos but its value is diminished by uncertainty regarding its location and stratigraphical context. About 176 samples, retained from the campaigns of 1901 and 1902, were described by Mackenzie in his Pottery Notebooks but, as indicated below, there are problems in correlating his descriptions with the material preserved in the Museum.

The most important source of information, however, consists of the surviving remains of the Palace itself. In places the original structures have been concealed or destroyed as a result of Evans' extensive 'reconstructions' but for the most part, as can be seen from a comparison with the excavation photographs, the remains are as uncovered, apart from surface damage through weathering and necessary works of conservation. As part of the present study, approximately eight weeks were devoted to a detailed examination of the Palace buildings. Important evidence, largely neglected by previous researchers, is provided by the scorchmarks visible on walls, especially those constructed in ashlar masonry.

The architectural remains

The surviving remains of the Palace constitute a primary source of data and have been studied in detail by many of the researchers mentioned in the previous chapter (for example, Woodard, 1972; Hallager, 1977; Mirié, 1979; Hood and Taylor, 1981; Raison, 1988; 1993; Driessen. 1990b; Momigliano and Hood, 1994; Boskamp, 1997; Panagiotaki, 1999). The structures visible at present have been much altered from their original condition through the effects of weathering and even more, in places, through the works of 'reconstruction' carried out by Evans in parts of the Palace, especially the West Wing and the Domestic Quarter. Generally, however, the original structures can be distinguished from the modern work (Panagiotaki, 1999, 182-3), especially where photographs taken during or shortly after the excavation are available. In considerable parts of the palace, the only works carried out had the aim of repairing and consolidating existing structures. The photographs show that many walls when excavated were covered with plaster that has since been lost.

Mackenzie's Daybooks

For a description of the architectural remains as they were uncovered, the primary source of information is the Daybooks of Duncan Mackenzie, Evans' assistant, which he maintained during the campaigns of 1900-1905, 1907-8, 1910 and 1922-5. Extracts from the Daybooks, most already published in, for example, Palmer (1963a), Popham (1970), Hallager (1977), Raison (1988; 1993) and Driessen (1990b), are quoted in the Appendixes to chapters 3-6.

The Daybooks, the originals of which are held at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, each have up to about 100 octavo pages in a soft cloth-covered binding. The entries are in pencil, as are the numerous sketches with, in a few cases, structures of two or more periods being differentiated by ornament or by means of coloured pencil. The text is generally on the left-hand page which, except in the case of the Daybook for 1900, are numbered. The sketches are mainly on the opposite, right-hand page but commonly encroach on to the left-hand page. The daybooks are in the nature of illustrated diaries, with an entry for each day's work, rather than formal excavation records, or field notebooks. In some cases, it is clear from internal evidence, that day's entry was written in the evening rather than on site. Thus, there are references in the first sentence to the time when work ended for the day and spaces left for the insertion of measurements in some cases remain blank or have been filled in later in a different style. It is possible that Mackenzie kept other notebooks as an *aide memoire* but this seems unlikely as the sketches give the impression that they were drawn on site and have a sense of immediacy that the textual comments commonly lack.

Almost all the Daybooks contain information which sheds light not just on the structures and finds discovered during the excavation but also on the approach of the excavators to their interpretation.

However, the evidence of immediate relevance to the present study is mainly contained in the Daybooks for the campaigns of 1900, 1901 and 1902 during which the architectural remains of the Palace visible today were largely uncovered. The five volumes for these years contain somewhat over 100, 000 words, but this total includes comments on the weather, as well as discussion and speculation. An average day's entry, therefore, amounted to less than 500 words. As the work of excavation was subdivided into subsidiary areas, commonly from 6 to 10 in number, the day's entry for any of them in many cases amounts to a single sentence.

The sketches are immensely valuable, commonly containing information not given in the accompanying text, but they have their shortcomings. Mostly they describe the arrangement of rooms and passages; none are stratigraphical sections. They are not accurately drawn to scale and often lack important details. Although the originals were consulted, in this study access to the Daybooks was mainly through a microfilm of variable quality held in the Main Library at the University of Edinburgh and Xerox copies in the library of the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos. The full text was transcribed on to computer. The sketches were traced and those used in this account have mostly been redrawn for the sake of clarity, access to the original Daybooks now being restricted.

The reliability of Mackenzie's descriptions and sketches can in many cases be verified by reference to the surviving structures on site. There is no reason to doubt that his statements, especially with regard to the earliest days of the dig, are an honest, unbiased account of what he believed he saw, as remembered in the evening of each day's excavation. Despite their deficiencies, the Daybooks, when used in conjunction with the surviving structures, provide much information on the architecture of the Palace and they are the sole source of data regarding some late structures that were subsequently removed. Uniquely, Mackenzie prepared a second version of his Daybook for 1900, written in ink. There are many minor differences between the two accounts where Mackenzie had second thoughts. Following Boardman (1961, 233), who was critical of Palmer's use of the inked version as a primary source, the earlier version is preferred here as being closer to the event.

It is clear that, when writing *The Palace of Minos*, his final account of the excavation, Evans (1921-35) was heavily dependent on Mackenzie's Daybooks and he commonly quotes from them almost *verbatim*. What seems equally clear, as Palmer stressed, is that Evans from time to time arrived at conclusions that were incompatible with Mackenzie's site observations. Thus, the find places or stratigraphical settings given by Evans for chronologically significant artifacts are not always in accord with the Daybook descriptions.

Evans' Notebooks

Like Mackenzie, Evans maintained a notebook during the time he was on site at the Palace. The entries in it, however, are less systematic, much briefer and, to a large extent, concentrate on the vases, seals, inscriptions and other finds. The few comments and sketches which deal with architectural features mainly repeat information covered in greater detail in Mackenzie's Daybooks. However, there are a few valuable pieces of information for which Evans' notebooks are the only source, including the results of a series of tests carried out in 1913 when Mackenzie was not on site. The originals of the notebooks are held in the Ashmolean Museum.

The 'Survey Books' of Fyfe.

The 'Survey Books' of Theodore Fyfe, the site architect for the period 1900 to 1902, are disappointing (Mirié, 1979, 12). They are almost entirely unpublished, incompletely preserved and in general have the appearance of careless notes. They provide little or no information about many important parts in the Palace. His plans are all hand drawn sketches, not to scale. Fyfe commonly provides lists of levels on floors and other structures but in many cases fails to link the measurements with the drawings. Nevertheless, the Survey Books contain some details that corroborate the other documents and, for some information such as levels, chiefly relating to the West Wing of the Palace, they are the only source. The originals are held in the Ashmolean Museum.

Miscellaneous documents

The collection of documents held in the Ashmolean Museum includes draft versions of plans and figures subsequently published by Evans in the BSA Reports and *The Palace of Minos*. There are also a number of plans and sections of the Palace by Fyfe that have only recently been published by, for example, Palmer (1969b) and Driessen (1990b). These are particularly useful as they give levels of floors and other features.

The Evans Archive in the Ashmolean Museum also contains letters by Evans and Mackenzie, as well as lists, concordances and sketches of Linear B tablets and clay sealings by Evans that have not been consulted in this study.

The Excavation Photographs

The excavation of the Palace and other associated sites at Knossos is noted for its plentiful use of photography and almost 1000 images, recently curated by Dr S Sherratt, are held in the Ashmolean Museum, about two-thirds of them illustrating the Palace and the immediately adjacent buildings. Many of the photographs concentrate on the so-called reconstructions erected by Evans and are of little archaeological value. The majority, however, show the rooms, walls, floors, drains and other structures of the Palace at various stages during their excavation and afterwards.

Most of the views were taken from too great a distance and thus fail to show important details such as the relationship of walls with one another. However, from many of them it is possible to determine the condition at the time of their excavation of structures that still survive today. Moreover, the position of the original ground surface in relation to these structures can be determined in some cases. Most importantly in the present context, some photographs provide a visual record of 'late' structures removed by Evans at an early stage of the excavation. The late rubble walls in the area of the N Entrance and those that were constructed across the Long Corridor in the West Wing of the Palace are good examples of structures that would otherwise be known only from descriptions and sketches.

Many of the photographs have already been published, the most important sources being *The Palace of Minos* (Evans, 1921-1935), Palmer (1963a), Boardman (1963), Raison (1969; 1988; 1993), Hallager (1977), Driessen (1990b) and Brown (1994).

The BSA Annual Reports

Evans published a brief report of each season's findings in the Annual of the British School at Athens for the years from 1900 to 1905. These reports draw upon the Daybooks of Mackenzie and, while providing a useful summary, yield only a little information that is not contained in the excavation documents listed above.

'The Palace of Minos'

The campaign of 1925 was the last to be conducted under the supervision of Mackenzie. Evans, however, continued his investigations at the Palace in the years that followed and for the results of these the only available source is the later volumes of *The Palace of Minos*.

The pottery and the Pottery Notebooks of Mackenzie

Except during the campaign of 1900, when F B Welch was in charge of it, the pottery was the responsibility of Mackenzie. In his Daybooks for the campaigns of 1900, 1901 and 1902, in the course of which the excavation of the 'Last Palace' at Knossos was essentially completed, Mackenzie noted the discovery of pottery at many localities. Other vases were described and sketched by Evans in his notebooks for the same years and many are illustrated in the BSA Reports and in *The Palace of Minos*.

A more important source of information on the pottery collected during the period are the Pottery Notebooks of Mackenzie, the first three volumes of which provide brief descriptions of 176 samples retained from the campaigns of 1901 and 1902, quantifying the material rejected as the selection was made. On the basis of this information, Hallager (1977) calculated that the amount retained may consist of one per cent or less of the total unearthed and he argued that proportionately little consisted of the latest pottery on the site, that is, of the LM III B period. However, there is no particular reason

to doubt that what was kept is other than a representative sample although strongly biased in favour of featured and/or decorated sherds. The originals of Mackenzie's Pottery Notebooks are held at the British School at Athens, with Xerox copies at Knossos and the Ashmolean Museum.

In a few cases, notably pithoi found in the South Propylaeum in the earliest days of the dig and stirrup jars found where they had apparently fallen from an upper storey in the Queen's Megaron, the vessels were photographed *in situ*. More commonly, in the Daybooks, the location of the pottery is described in general terms only. Nevertheless, in so far as they provide information, however imprecise, regarding the stratigraphical context of the pottery, these records are of importance. For the later years of the excavation, the Daybooks of Mackenzie and the Notebooks of Evans briefly describe about 150 pottery assemblages obtained in tests carried out beneath floors or within the walls of the Palace.

Apart from the very large storage jars, many of which remain on site, most of the intact or nearly complete vessels are housed in Herakleion Museum. Some sherd material is also stored there (*see* Popham, 1965) but the bulk of the sherd pottery, collected at various times in the period from 1900 to 1929, is housed in the Stratigraphic Museum at Knossos. No complete catalogue of the pottery from the Palace has been published but smaller amounts of material, including some intact vases, are held in other museums, such as the Ashmolean Museum and the British Museum.

The sherd collection at Knossos was catalogued according to area by Pendlebury (1933-5), who, together with his collaborators, H W Pendlebury, E Eccles and M Money-Coutts, provided listings of the ceramic periods represented in the assemblages from each of a total of 612 contexts within the Palace and elsewhere. In the early 1960s Mervyn Popham, while supervising the removal of the pottery to the newly completed Stratigraphic Museum, allotted numbers to the individual boxes and listed them in a Card Index.

Evans caused a selection of the intact vessels and sherds to be photographed and used some of the images to illustrate his publications. The surviving negatives and prints, recently curated by Dr N Momigliano, are held in the Ashmolean Museum. Importantly, in a number of cases, the photographed sherds, the originals of some of which are now missing or misplaced, can be matched with sketches in Mackenzie's Pottery Notebooks.

Linear B tablets

Within a few days of the start of the excavation the first clay tablet inscribed with characters in a script that Evans later termed Linear B was discovered. According to the recently published *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Chadwick and others, 1986; 1990; 1997; 1998) the total number of inscribed clay objects - tablets, sealings and nodules - found at Knossos is about 7284.

Many of these are fragments that have been combined to give a total of about 4140 tablets, over 100 of which have been lost. All but 54 of those that survive are held in Iraklion Museum with small collections in other museums, notably the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (*see* Chadwick and others, 1998, 291).

The tablets, other than those on display in museum cases in Oxford and Iraklion, were not examined in this study - the analysis of the tablets in Chapter 7 is based only on data published in the *Corpus*, in combination with the find places as given in Palmer (1963a). These he determined from data contained in Mackenzie's Daybooks and Evans' Notebooks and from a handlist and concordance compiled by Evans and now in the Ashmolean Museum.

Sealings and sealstones

Clay objects of various types, carrying seal impressions and in a few cases inscribed with Linear B characters, are an integral part of the Palace administrative process (Weingarten, 1994) and were commonly found in association with the tablets. Gill (1960) listed some 650 sealings but this number has risen to about 1000 (Popham and Gill, 1995, 6). The great majority are housed in the Museum at Iraklion; most of the remainder are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The provenance of some 400 of the sealings was determined by Gill (1960), mainly on the basis of Evans' Notebooks and the campaign reports in the Annual of the British School at Athens (Evans, 1900-4). Some of the sealings and nodules are inscribed with Linear B characters and 64 of them are listed with the tablets in the *Corpus of Mycenaean inscriptions*.

Although large numbers of sealstones are known from Crete (*see* Kenna, 1960), only 16 of these listed in the *Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel*[1] were recovered in the excavations at the Palace. Eleven of the gems are in the collection of the Museum at Iraklion, the rest are housed in the Berlin Museum. Most have only a generalised find location and, on stylistic grounds, are dated to a period too early for them to be of value in the present study.

Other small finds

Small objects in gold, ivory and faience were recorded by Mackenzie in his Daybook and by Evans in his Notebooks. Probably found when the deposit was sieved, the small finds are poorly located. Most if not all are from contexts that are earlier than those that concern the present study.

[1] See Platon, 1969; Platon and Pini, 1977; 1984; Sakelleriou, 1964.

Notes.

In the text, references to passages from the Mackenzie's Daybooks other than those for 1900 are given in the following manner **D. year/vol. no:page no**, e.g. **D.1901/II:33**. The reference is to the left-hand page unless otherwise stated. The pages in the two versions of the Daybook for 1900 are not numbered and the reference is amended to **D.dd.mm.year**, e.g. **D.05.04.1900**, with the addition of **/IV** in the case of the Ink Version. Where a passage is quoted in full in the Appendixes, the number in regular font that precedes the reference is the page number in Volume III of this account.

The way the sketches are numbered by Mackenzie varies from volume to volume of the Daybooks. Thus in the Daybook for 1900 (pencil version), the first few sketches are numbered sequentially, the remainder can be identified only by reference to the date of the associated text entry. In the two volumes for 1901, the numbering system relates to the date in the month in which they were drawn, for example sketches 24), 24)b and 24)c were drawn on 24 April 1901. In the volumes of the Daybooks for 1902 and 1903, the sketches are numbered sequentially. Structural elements depicted on the sketches are commonly numbered. References to these in Mackenzie's text are of the form 1)2, 3,4, being features 3 and 4 on sketch 1)2. However, on the same sketch a wall, a column base and a pithos can all carry the same number. A further complication is that in cases where several sketches describe the same area, the number allotted to the same feature often varies from sketch to sketch. In this account, a system similar to that used for text passages has been adopted whereby the sketches are referred to according to the year and volume number of the Daybook and the page number where that was supplied by Mackenzie. According to this, the sketches 24), 24)b and 24)c are referred to as **D.1901/I:87, D.1901/I:88.1** and **D.1901/I:88.2**. Sketches in the Daybook for 1900 in which the pages were not numbered are identified by date, as above. References to individual features on the sketches are given thus - wall **2** on **D.1901/I:87**.

References to assemblage descriptions in Mackenzie's Pottery Notebooks are in the form **PNB vol. no: starting page - end page**, e.g. **PNB II:22-23**. All the pages in Evans' Notebooks are numbered and references to the text and sketches alike are in the form **AE.1913:45**.

References to or quotations from published material give the author's name and year of publication, as in the List of References, and page, plate or text figure number - thus Evans (1928, 234); Palmer (1969b, fig. 12); Raison (1992, coupe ε).

All sketch plans in this account have North to the top of the page unless otherwise stated.

Chapter 3

THE SOUTH FRONT

Evans' excavation commenced on 29 March 1900 on the S slopes of Kephala Hill where a number of structures were visible - the most extensive being a strong, EW-trending wall with two narrow openings. Further exploration revealed that this wall belonged to what came to be recognised as the South Front of the palace (Fig. 3.1). On 31 March, the first Linear B tablet was discovered. Excavation of the area was more or less completed in the campaigns of 1900 and 1901 although supplementary investigations, mostly sub-floor tests, were carried out in 1905, 1907, 1922, 1923 and 1925 (*see* Appendix 1). At an early stage of the excavation it became apparent that the structures in this area occurred at two distinct levels, those in the upper floor being about 3.30m above the lower ones that were interpreted as basement. The excavators recognised that at least two architectural phases were present. The latest structures, that included crudely built, rubble walls 'to buttress up the main south wall' (Evans, 1901, 12), were associated with floors of beaten earth on which rested intact or near intact vessels later assigned to the LM III B period. These and similar structures throughout the palace were subsequently attributed by Evans (1902, 46) to a 'reoccupation' that took place after the Last Palace was destroyed by fire.

From the present study of the excavation documents and the surviving remains in the area a number of conclusions were reached. Structures attributable to the 'Reoccupation' were more widespread than described by the excavators. For example, there is evidence which implies the existence in a number of rooms of earth floors that were not recognised during the excavation. Also, from the pottery, it is clear that some floors and other architectural features assigned by the excavators to the Last Palace were set in place during the LM III A period or later and must therefore date to the 'Reoccupation'. As already mentioned in Chapter 1, the structures of the 'Reoccupation' are here considered to belong to three separate phases, RP1, RP2 and RP3, the last being confined to the N Front of the Palace. Structures of the RP1 phase, when a new building was constructed over the ruins of the 'Last Palace', are uncommon in the S Front area. Those of the second phase, consisting of rubble masonry buttresses and earth floors laid over worn out pavements are more widely distributed. From the evidence of scorchmarks it can be inferred that the buildings of the 'Reoccupation' were destroyed by fire when the floors of the RP2 phase were already in place.

The South Front area is here considered in three parts. The structures of the upper level are referred to the SW Palace area (Fig. 3.1). These include the South Propylaeum and the adjoining Corridor of the Cupbearer, the Central Clay Area, the Room of the Clay Bath and the Corridor of the Procession. The

structures at the lower level divide naturally into the South Basement area, where they consist of a series of rooms confined between strong EW walls, and the SE Basement Area that comprises a group of small interconnecting rooms and corridors.

a. SW Palace Area (Fig. 3.2)

The passages from Mackenzie's Daybooks and Evans' Notebooks that describe the excavation of the upper floor structures that comprise the SW Palace area are given in Appendix 1. Mackenzie's comments that cover the excavation are terse and sparingly illustrated but, especially when accompanied by contemporaneous photographs, provide information that is of use for the present study, although much of it is implied rather than stated. This is particularly true with regard to the late structures that were present in the South Propylaeum and related rooms.

The excavators' descriptions of the contexts of the Linear B tablets found here, and of pottery of late date apparently associated with them, are unusually detailed and precise and were crucial to Palmer's argument that the tablets in the Palace had been baked in the LM III B period (for example, Palmer, 1963a; 1969a; 1969b). His main conclusions were that the reconstructed stairway which at present ascends N to the upper storey of the West Wing was an artifact of Evans' imagination (Palmer, 1969a, 44) and that a rectangular foundation structure - the 'rectangular system' - that Mackenzie and Evans finally decided was a Hellenic Temple was actually a Bronze Age building. He argued on the evidence of pottery found in a cist discovered in 1925 beneath its E wall that construction of the Propylaeum dated from no earlier than LM III. He considered that the nearby Room of the Clay Bath was of the same late date and that an ash deposit, which enclosed tablets found in the 'bath', was the debris produced when the Palace was destroyed. Sherds of LM III B date recovered from a late crosswall abutting the W wall of the South Propylaeum provided a *terminus post quem* for the destruction. Initially, he considered that a group of large storage jars found in place to the S of the crosswall rested upon a *terrazza* floor (Palmer, 1965, 265) but later he adopted a suggestion by Evans (1928, 689, footnote 1) that the pithoi had stood on a roughly built base. On the basis of a sealstone found in a sub-floor test in 1905 and said to be of LM II date (Evans, 1905, 19 and fig. 10), he argued that the West Portico and the Procession Corridor had been remodelled at a late date (Palmer, 1969a, 42).

Boardman (1963) rejected Palmer's argument that the 'Greek Temple' was actually a Bronze Age construction and was later supported by Popham (1970). Driessen (1990b), in his analysis of the structures in the SE part of the West Wing expressed doubts regarding the existence of a grand staircase ascending to the *piano nobile* or upper storey but pointed out that, if it existed, it must be an MM III -LM I construction. He was convinced, however, of the Bronze Age date of the 'rectangular system' and considered it likely that the building was in use in the LM III A period. He considered that the Room of the Clay Bath was constructed as an annex to the building and was in use at the same

time. He found no evidence that the Room of the Clay Bath had been destroyed in the LM III B period as claimed by Palmer.

South Propylaeum

The excavation

On the day that excavation commenced in the higher parts of the Palace site (1_**D.29.03.1900**) [1], there appeared *'a few centimetres from the surface, the circumferences of two very large pithoi'* (**1** and **2** on Fig. 3.3). The next day was uncovered *'a wall running N-S 1.50m wide constructed partly at least of large gypsum blocks'*, that is, the east wall of the Propylaeum. *'W of this wall another N-S 1.24 wide* [the west wall of the Propylaeum]. *E of this wall is the large pithos 1. Later the pithos 3* [**3** on Fig. 3.2] *was brought into view. Then the pithoi 4, 5* [**4, 5** on Fig. 3.3] *in line with 3, suggesting that 3 is in the NW corner of some chamber. The bases of the pithoi, which can already be calculated as probably at about a metre down, mark a floor-level of the Mycenaean* [2] *period'* (1_**D.30.03.1900**). Thus Mackenzie had been able to estimate the depth to the floor and infer the existence of a crosswall before either had been uncovered. His forecasts were soon confirmed. *'Pithos 3 is in the corner (NW) indicating that a wall probably runs E to N of pithoi 3, 4, 5. This wall was soon brought into view and afterwards the bases of the pithoi were found at a depth of .90 from the surface'* (1_**D.02.04.1900**). He emphasised that *'The pithoi in position are valuable as resting on a floor which marks the boundary surface between the later stratum to which the pithoi belong and any earlier stratification'* (1_**D.02.04.1900**).

It is to be noted that, at no time, did Mackenzie specify the composition of the floor upon which the pithoi rested. His failure to do so suggests that it was formed of material that was little different from the deposits above and below it - that is, it consisted of consolidated earth. This conclusion is supported by a photograph of 1900 (Fig. 3.4a), which shows one of the pithoi resting upon a stone slab, a device used to ensure a level stance on an earth floor[3]. However, a comment by Mackenzie that this pithos had been found *'on its side and in fragments'* (1_**D.02.04.1900**) means that the possibility

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[1] The figure in regular font refers to page number in Volume 3 - Appendixes.

[2] Mackenzie's previous excavation experience was at Phylakopi (Momigliano, 1999). During the campaigns of 1900 and 1901, he applied the term 'Mycenaean' to all Bronze Age structures and pottery. Thus a note in his Daybook for 1901 (**D.1901/I:47R**) but dated May 31, 1919 states that 'By Mycenaean is meant Late Minoan'. In 1902, Evans distinguished an earlier 'Minoan' palace from a later 'Mycenaean' palace (e.g. Evans, 1902, 98). When he formalised his stratigraphy (Evans, 1906), he referred to all divisions of the Bronze Age period on Crete as 'Minoan'.

[3] 'A good many of the jars stood on slabs against the walls of the room spaces where they were found. This is a practical way of getting a level base for the vessel in the case of a cellar like this with a mud floor' (22_**D.1901/I:77-8**).

'The bases of many of these pots were in position, some resting on stone slabs' (Popham, 1984, 77).

cannot be entirely ruled out that the slab was set in position when the vessel was replaced after restoration.

In the days that followed, the excavation was continued towards the S. *'The surface soil is being further removed from the large space being cleared on the acropolis the plan being to excavate down to the floor level indicated by the bases of the pithoi 1 - 6. To the SE of the corner with the pithoi 1, 3, 4, 5 a threshold* (*see* Fig. 3.3) *came into view at a depth of only .35 from the surface. N of this doorway, a little towards the left jamb, was a large column-base probably in position. It was, however, a little below the floor level indicated by the pithoi in position in the NW corner of the room. Traces of the flooring of the room can be made out and fragments of wall stucco were got out just above the floor-level'* (2_**D.03.04.1900**). Later, Mackenzie reported that *'The chief development here was the discovery of the exact floor-level in the region to the N and W of the Mycenaean column-base immediately N of the threshold 2. The plaster or stucco (cement) flooring was found a little to the N of the column-base in the forenoon, the floor-level to the W in the afternoon. Preliminary to the finding of the floor level W of column-base 1* (**1** on Fig. 3.5) *was made the important discovery of a column-base 2* (**2** on Fig. 3.5) *answering to column-base 1 but having a separate slab surmounting it to bring its surface up to the level of column-base 1'.* (2_**D.05.04.1900**).

The threshold slab and the column bases are still in the position in which they were found (Fig. 3.6) but the slab that had raised the height of the W column base to the level of the eastern one is missing. There seems no reason to doubt that when the column bases were in use the floor was at a level that was about 0.20 to 0.25m higher than that which is defined by the threshold slab. Mackenzie's reference to the slab placed upon the W column base, necessary if it were to stand proud of the higher floor, is especially convincing. That the higher of the two floors was of earth seems to be confirmed by Mackenzie's note that *'Coinciding with the column-bases is a clay flooring which in turn is a little deeper than the bases of the pithoi. The pithoi probably belong to somewhat later date than that of the clay flooring'* (3_**D.16.04.1900**). It should be noted, however, that Mackenzie's comment was written more than a week after the column bases were exposed in the excavation. This suggests that his description of the floor as being of clay was based on inference rather than on observation. The difference in height between that of the floor indicated by the pithoi bases and that implied by the column bases is only a few centimetres and may not be significant.

Evans' remark that *'The foundations of the projecting wall* [the crosswall of the South Propylaeum] *do not really reach original floor level, therefore later and negligible work'* (4_**AE.1900:55**) provides final confirmation of the existence of the earth floor and its makeup deposit. The failure of a wall or walls to reach down to a floor, usually paved, was noted in descriptions of several other parts of the Palace, notably the N Entrance area, the NE Hall area and the Domestic Quarters (see below). It can

only be taken to mean that the wall was not related to the paved floor but was founded in a deposit that lay upon it. This demands the existence of a second floor or ground surface at a level above the base of the wall. In none of the above cases was a higher floor reported at the time of the excavation, strongly implying that the undetected floor consisted of earth. It is worth noting that a sketch by Fyfe (Fig. 3.17) gives the height of the floor alongside pithos 2 of Fig. 3.3 as 101.51m, significantly above the level of the floor by the SW doorway on the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981).That Mackenzie's view of the date of the crosswall coincided with that of Evans is clear from his comment in the Ink Version of his Daybook that the crosswall *'is quite clearly later construction'* (3_**D.05.04.1900/IV**). Obviously, construction of the crosswall predated the emplacement of the pithoi arranged along its S side.

North of the crosswall, a rough buttress built against the E face of the W wall of the Propylaeum is shown on the Fyfe's plan of the palace (Evans, 1900, pl. XIII) and can be seen in the excavation photograph (Fig. 3.4a, and see Palmer, 1969b, pl. VI). The two structures were dismantled but there is some uncertainty regarding the date when this work was carried out. The structures are shown only in outline on the final plans for the 1901 and 1902 campaigns. Box 781 in the Stratigraphical Museum, containing sherds said to be from 'Construction projecting from W Wall', is dated to 1902 but Evans' sketches of a number of the sherds now in the box are in his notebook for 1905 (4_**AE.1905:14**). The crosswall has been replaced in the modern restoration.

There is little information in the Daybooks that relates to the excavation of the part of the South Propylaeum that lies to N of the crosswall. In his report on the findings of the campaign, Evans commented only that 'on the opposite eastern side of the hall was another group of eleven jars, some much broken' (Evans, 1900, 16). Their positions, as well as that of pithos 2 (on Fig. 3.3), are given on Fyfe's summary plan (Evans, 1900, pl. XIII). It is likely that these vessels rested upon the continuation northwards of the earth floor that lay to the S of the crosswall.

Information about structural phases that predated those revealed in the early excavations was obtained by means of tests beneath the cement floor of the South Propylaeum in 1923 and a more extensive investigation undertaken in 1925 (*see* Fig. 3.7) because, according to Mackenzie, *'It was conjectured that the South Propylon was originally wider and that its side walls East and West consisted of massive walls which run parallel to the Propylon walls proper on the outside. . . In the course of these excavations a quite unexpected archaeological discovery of great interest was made. This was in the shape of a kasella or chest the masonry of the west of which came into view while we were making one of our test pits at the foot of the East wall of the Propylon . . .'* (4_**D.1925:32R**). The cist lay beneath the E wall of the present propylaeum (Evans, 1928, 701) which is thereby confirmed to be of late construction.

The finds

There is pottery in the Stratigraphical Museum that, if it is accurately located, dates the late structures in the South Propylaeum with unusual precision. Pottery retained from the tests of 1925 is now in Boxes 770-780 in the Stratigraphical Museum. Mackenzie briefly described the material in Boxes 774-780 and there are even shorter comments by Pendlebury on all the pottery (Appendix 1, p. 12). Sherds recovered from the infill of the kasella or cist included one and possibly two that were of LM I A date. These were considered *'obviously adventitious'* by Mackenzie (Lot K.25 11a - Appendix 1, p. 9) and to be 'intrusive elements' by Evans (1928, 701 footnote 3), who concluded that Propylaeum was part of the great rebuilding of the palace that followed the catastrophe towards the close of Middle Minoan times.

In fact, Late Minoan sherds - some were as late as LM III - occurred in 7 of the 8 boxes described by Mackenzie from at least four locations (Fig. 3.8 and see Appendix 1, pp. 8-12). Thus there is a strong possibility that the latest pottery recovered in the tests dates from the destruction of the palace in LM III A recognised by Popham (1970). Sherds recovered from tests in different parts of the Propylaeum (*see* Chapter 7) belonged to the same vessel, suggesting that the deposit which contained them was laid down as the makeup for the cement floor when the South Propylaeum was rebuilt or repaired after the LM III A destruction. This conforms with the actual meaning of Mackenzie's remark that *'the LM I - III sherds were intrusive in the sense that they came where they were found after the chest had gone out of use and was filled in'* (5_**D.1925:31L**). In fact, Mackenzie is mistaken in his definition of the term 'intrusive' which is more properly applied to finds where there is reason to believe that they are not in true stratigraphical context. It is clear that, in dismissing the late sherds as 'intrusive elements', Evans was employing the term in its accepted sense and that there is a hint that he and Mackenzie were in disagreement over their significance. Note that Palmer (1965, 267) was incorrect in stating that the cist contained LM III sherds although justified in dating the terrazza floor to that period.

Popham (1970, 57) discussed the pottery, said to be from the W crosswall, that is contained in Box 781. He noted the presence of three sherds of a bowl with whorl-shell design of Mycenaean type which he considered must belong to LM III B. He further commented that 'the IIIB bowl fragments from the buttress wall are useful evidence for dating this construction'. Some of the sherds in Box 781 were sketched by Evans (4_**AE.1905:14**). The crosswall, which cannot be earlier than LM III B, must be contemporaneous with or later than the earth makeup deposit within which it is founded. Whatever the actual date of their manufacture, the pithoi obviously were set in place after construction of the crosswall.

Comment

The stratigraphical sequence inferred for the South Propylaeum may be summarised as follows.

SP1 Construction of the early Propylaeum with cist. Last Palace or earlier.

SP2 Infilling of cist and construction of later E wall. LM I or later; probably contemporaneous with SP3.

SP3 Construction of cement floor. LM III A or later.

SP4 Construction of earth floor with repositioning of S column bases. Not earlier than LM III A.

SP5 Construction of crosswall. Not earlier than LM III B.

SP6 Emplacement of pithoi and other vessels: not earlier than LM III B.

SP7 Final destruction of the South Propylaeum: not earlier than LM III B.

The late structures fall within two phases. The first, represented by the cement floor (SP3), with which are associated the threshold slab and jambs of the SE doorway, are here assigned to the RP1 phase. It is possible that the E (SP2) and W walls of the Propylaeum date from this period also. The structures of the second phase, consisting of the earth floor some 0.25-0.30m above the cement floor, the W crosswall and buttress and the pithoi (SP4-7), are referred to the RP2 phase.

The stratigraphy outlined above differs from that of Evans. His reconstruction of the Propylaeum (Evans, 1928, fig. 434) shows the floor in its S part sloping down towards the S with a gradient of 1 in 27 - a fall of about 0.30m in the distance between the crosswall and the S doorways. This involves a correlation of the floor implied by the pithoi bases with that indicated by the threshold slab which is unacceptable. However, it would appear that Evans belatedly realised this and as an afterthought he suggested (Evans, 1928, 689 footnote 1) that some of the pithoi[1] in the S part of the Propylaeum had rested on a roughly built base. This position of this postulated structure is indicated by Fyfe on his unpublished plan of 1903 (Palmer, 1969b, plan IA) and it would appear that, from an early date, the relationship of the pithoi and the cement floor was seen as problematical. However, no such structure can be seen on the excavation photographs. On the contrary, the slab forming a stand for one of the pithoi, the raised position of the column bases and the failure of the crosswall to reach down to the cement floor all argue for the presence of an earth floor at the level of the pithoi bases.

The arrangement of the pithoi indicates that when they were set out the crosswall was already in place. Whether the pithoi rested upon a rough base or on an earth floor, as is suggested here, has no effect on their position in the stratigraphical sequence, which is that they post-date the crosswall which in turn post-dates the cement floor. Evans (1928, 689-92) dated the early Propylaeum to MM III A and considered the later walls, built after the cist had been infilled, to be not earlier than of MM III B date.

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[1] Evans (1928, 689 footnote 1) considered that some of the pithoi were of very late LM III date.

He referred to the crosswall as 'a late restoration' (Evans, 1928, 690) but did not suggest an LM III date for its construction.

The pottery from the sub-floor tests of 1925 and, in particular, sherds (Lot k.25.11b - Appendix 1, p. 10), recovered from a shaft and tunnel that passed beneath the cist, led Palmer (1969a, 51; 1969b, 76) to argue that the South Propylaeum had been remodelled in the LM III period. The exact context of the LM III sherds from the test is not known, however, and it is possible that they were derived from a makeup deposit that lay in the interval between the base of the cement floor and the floor that corresponds to the top of the cist. Thus, as far as the E wall of the Propylaeum is concerned, it is safe to conclude only that a *terminus post quem* of LM I A is provided by sherds of that date found in the cist (Lot K.25.11a - Appendix 1, 9).

On the other hand, there is plentiful evidence that the cement floor in the Propylaeum was constructed no earlier than the LM III A period and Palmer may well be correct in concluding that the Propylaeum was partly or wholly rebuilt at this date. However, he was mistaken in adopting Evans' suggestion that the pithoi S of the crosswall rested upon a rough base or 'shelf' rather than upon a floor. It is possible that Palmer's purpose was to link the pithoi with the 'palatial' style threshold, jambs and column bases and thereby support his contention that the Linear B tablets were baked during the destruction of an LM III B palace. Certainly, the alternatives whereby the Linear B tablets were contained in the burnt debris from buildings with earthen floors or in the makeup deposit for such floors would not have conformed to his hypothesis.

The revision proposed above of the stratigraphy of the later deposits in the South Propylaeum has important consequences. Thus, some of the finds evidently had, as their context, the makeup deposit for the RP2 earth floor whereas others were enclosed within the destruction deposit that covered this floor. In many cases, however, it is unclear from Mackenzie's descriptions to which of the two deposits finds are to be referred. Finds attributable to the RP2 makeup deposit almost certainly include the fragments of wall stucco found on 3 April just above the floor-level beside the threshold and the column base. Two of the fragments had the usual rosette motif; others had a band of double spirals forming a meander pattern in black on a red ground. The context of the fragments of painted stucco and of schist decoration with rosettes in relief, found *'in the same space as the pithoi'* before excavation had uncovered their bases (1_**D.02.04.1900**), is however uncertain. This is also true of a vase, complete in fragments, showing what probably was the original form of the bugelkanne with a true neck instead of the developed false neck (1_**D.31.3.1900**). It has been argued that the pithoi to S of the crosswall stood upon the RP2 earth floor and this is probably true also of the 11 vessels found, apparently in place, N of the crosswall. Some of the pithoi were considered by Evans (1928, 689

footnote 1) to be of very late LM III date. None are of a quality that might suggest they were heirlooms.

Corridor of the Procession and Corridor of the Cupbearer

The Corridor of the Procession (Fig. 3.2) passes S from the SW Portico before turning E towards the South Propylaeum. At the time of its excavation was excavated in 1900 and 1901, however, only the NS section of the corridor was preserved. The Corridor of the Cupbearer Fresco extends northwards along the W side of the South Propylaeum. Its N part is at present occupied by a stair that descends southwards to basement level. The present floors in the two corridors, like that in the S part of the South Propylaeum, are at a height of about 101m according to the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981).

A test sunk in 1905 to a depth of 1.20m below the pavement in the Corridor of the Procession was briefly described by Evans (9_**AE.1905:12**) but not referred to in Mackenzie's Daybook. Further investigations were carried out beneath the floor of the Corridor of the Procession in 1922 and 1925. The documentary evidence regarding the original excavation and the subsequent tests are given in Appendix 1.

The excavation

At the time of excavation, the fresco for which the Corridor of the Procession is named was found still adhering to the lower parts of its E and W walls (8_**D.17.05.1900**). According to Mackenzie, the figures were preserved only to a height of 0.20 - 0.30m, above which all colour and design had disappeared, partly through the action of fire (8_**D.17.05.1900/IV**). Further fragments of the fresco were discovered on the floor that consisted of *'a central strip of limestone slabs and, on each side of this, bands of bluish schist'* (9_**AE.1900:76-7**). In the Corridor of the Cupbearer only fragments of fresco showing a male figure carrying a rhyton were discovered (14_**D.06.04.1900**). Apart from the removal of the frescoes and remedial work carried out on its paved floor and rubble walls, what survives of the Corridor of the Procession is essentially as Mackenzie and Evans left it but the Corridor of the Cupbearer has been extensively modified.

A series of tests were carried out in 1905 beneath the pavement in the Procession Corridor and the threshold slab of the doorway into the West Portico. Only a brief description by Evans is available (Appendix 1, p. 9), Mackenzie possibly being engaged in the excavation of the Little Palace at the time. A sealstone found in one of the tests was illustrated by Evans (1905, fig. 10) who described it as being of 'bold but somewhat summary execution, such as often characterises the work of the Second Late Minoan Age'. However, Evans considered that the gem was not in its original context but 'had worked down' beside the threshold slab that he believed was laid during the MM III period.

Tests carried out under the pavement in the Corridor of the Procession in 1922 (Appendix 1, p. 9) encountered a 'strosis' or probable floor level at a depth of 0.25m. A still deeper floor, consisting of large irregular limestone slabs ('kalderim'), covered with plaster, was proved a further 0.15m lower down. In a second series of sub-floor tests in 1925, the stumps of gypsum dado slabs were encountered beneath the schist slabs on either side of the central 'runner' of rectangular gypsum slabs (13_**D.1925:30R**; Evans, 1928, fig. 425 and see Fig. 3.9). The position of these showed that the earlier corridor had been only 2.38m wide as compared with its present width of 3.34m (Evans, 1928, 669). At this earlier date, the corridor was entirely paved with gypsum slabs, the much worn remains of which lay at a depth of about 0.10m below the present floor (13-14_**D.1925:24L**). The situation here is similar to that in the W Magazines where the stumps of gypsum wall linings, burned by the fire of the LM III A period, were found beneath late paved floors, (Chapter 5). The excavation documents do not indicate whether the stumps found below the paving slabs in the Corridor of the Procession were similarly affected by the action of fire. Nevertheless, it is probable that the dado slabs here were cut away at the same time as those in the W Magazines and that the pavements that covers their stumps in the two areas are of the same date.

The finds

According to their labels, Boxes 465 and 466 in the Stratigraphic Museum contain sherds from a test pit sunk in 1905 to a depth of 1.20m below the pavement in the Corridor of the Procession. The catalogue of Pendlebury (1933-5), however, dates the boxes to 1923 but there is no record that tests were carried out in the Corridor that year. The catalogue assigns the latest material to the LM I period but a few sherds (e.g. Fig. 3.10) appear to be later - possibly of LM II-III date. This would be consistent with the date given Evans (1905, 19) to the sealstone from the test by the threshold into the West Portico.

Pottery from the sub-floor tests of 1922 is contained in boxes 467-470 that also carry a 1923 date. The numbers of sherds in the boxes differ considerably from those given by Mackenzie in his account of the pottery (10-11_**D.1922/I:03-4**) but there is a general match of the assemblages with his descriptions. Almost half of the sherds are Neolithic, the remainder being Early and Middle Minoan. No pottery has apparently been retained from the tests of 1925. Boxes 463 and 464, said to be from under the paving of the Procession Corridor but lacking a wooden label, yielded a sherd of possible LM II date (Fig. 3.11). The only other sherds in this box are from a flat, vertically sided dish of sieve-like appearance. The punctations, however, do not penetrate the base of the vessel.

The frescoes from the Corridor of the Procession are now on display in the Archaeological Museum at Iraklion (Fig. 3.12). As described by the excavators (8_**D.17.05.1900**), only the feet of the life-size figures are preserved on the main fresco (Fig. 3.12A) found still adhering to the E wall. The colours

are well preserved from the base of the fresco at pavement level up to a height of 0.20 to 0.25m, at which point there is a narrow dark brown line (Fig. 3.11B). Above this line, '*in the upper part of the fresco on the wall which was so much subjected to the action of fire*' (9_**D.19.05.1900/IV**), the colour is bleached out, presumably due to oxidation of the pigment. In marked contrast are the fragments of fresco which show parts of three male figures to a little above waist height (Fig. 3.12C) that would have been well above the level of any of the fresco that was preserved in place. Regarding these fragments, Mackenzie noted that their *'colours are very well preserved'* (9_**D.19.05.1900**).

The Cupbearer fresco, also in Iraklion Museum, was discovered as fragments lying on or near the floor, in the Corridor of the Cupbearer on the W side of the South Propylaeum. The colours of this fresco are as well preserved as those of the fragments of the figures found lying on the floor of the Procession Corridor.

Discussion

It has been argued above that in the South Propylaeum, to which the Corridor of the Procession eventually gives access, the paved floor had been covered with an earth makeup deposit to a depth of about 0.25m. It is suggested that this was true also of the Corridor of the Procession. If it were, it provides a complete explanation why the Procession fresco was found still adhering to the lowest part of the corridor walls and still had its colour preserved in its lower part. It is inferred that the thin dark sub-horizontal line marks the position of the surface of the earth floor. It is significant that the fragments that show the upper bodies of the three male figures in full colour were found lying on the paved floor of the corridor. If they had still been in place on the wall at the time of the fire they also would have been '*calcined by the conflagration*' (9_**AE.1900:76-7**). It is a reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the coloured fragments of fresco found on the paved floor had been incorporated in the earth makeup for the new floor, having previously become detached or been removed from the wall. This would have protected the fragments from the fire that bleached the upper part of the fresco that still adhered to the wall.

As in the case of the three male figures in the Corridor of the Procession, the fragments of fresco found lying face up in the Corridor of the Cupbearer have their colours preserved but their exact context is uncertain. Evans' statement that the fresco fragments lay *'on the hard cement floor of the corridor covered by the charred stratum probably from falling rafters'* (15_**AE.1900:28**) conflicts to some extent with Mackenzie's description of the removal of the fragments that suggests that they did not rest directly upon a hard floor but were enclosed in deposit of some kind (14-15_**D.12.04.1900**). This deposit may have consisted of destruction debris. However, if that were the case, it is likely that the colours on the fresco would have been bleached by the action of fire before they became detached from the walls of the corridor. It is suggested, by analogy with the situation in the Procession Corridor,

that the fragments of the Cupbearer fresco had been enclosed in the makeup deposit for an earth floor, prior to the conflagration. There is no exact information regarding the floor levels in the Corridor of the Cupbearer. However, as the Corridor and the Propylaeum open southwards on to the same E-W passageway it may reasonably be assumed that the floors in both were maintained at the same level.

There is uncertainty concerning the date of the paved floor with which the Procession fresco is related. The evidence from the tests of 1905 is scant but the sealstone, unless it is intrusive as Evans (1905, 19) implied, would suggest a date not earlier than LM II. A few sherds in Boxes 463 and 465 from the 1905 test are consistent with this. The investigations of 1922 (Appendix 1, p. 9-10) showed that this floor, with its central 'runner' of limestone slabs bordered by polygonal slabs of green schist, had been laid over gypsum slabs that had paved the corridor when it was narrower and had a gypsum dado on both sides. The surface of the new pavement was about 0.10m higher than the previous one. Comparison of the arrangement here with that in several of the W Magazines (Chapter 6) would indicate that the pavement had been laid down after the LM III A conflagration. However, the pottery recovered by the tests carried out under the paving in 1922 (Appendix 1, p. 10-11), while showing a wide range of dates, as is to be expected for a makeup deposit, contained nothing later than MM III.

Immerwahr (1990, 174) has suggested that the fragments of the Cupbearer fresco and the Procession fresco are parts of the same composition which she dated to the LM II-III A period. If correct, this would suggest that the Procession fresco had been scorched by the conflagration of LM III A and would require that the earth floor of the Corridor of the Procession was already in place by that date. This would rule out the correlation of the makeup deposits of the earth floor in the Corridors of the Cupbearer and the Procession with that in the South Propylaeum as the last is almost certainly of LM III B date. It would also imply that the palace was already in decline by the LM III A period, a concept that Evans would have found hard to accept. This conclusion can be avoided only if it is supposed that either the fresco is later than Immerwahr proposed or the Corridor of the Procession was not affected by the LM III A fire. The ceramic evidence for dating the pavement in the Corridor is unsatisfactory and clearly there is a need for further investigation. However, it is reasonable to assume that history of structural changes to what was a principal access system of the palace was uniform throughout. Accordingly, the widening of the Corridor of the Procession and the construction of the pavement visible at present are here provisionally attributed to the early phase of the Reoccupation - that is, to the RP1 phase. The overlying earth floor is considered to be a structure of the RP2 phase.

The sequence of events inferred for the Corridors of the Procession and of the Cupbearer is as follows.

CP1 Construction of early gypsum floor ?not earlier that LM I.

CP2 Widening of Corridor and construction of limestone and schist floor over stumps of dado slabs - ?post LM III A destruction.

CP3 Painting of the Procession Fresco - ?post LM III A destruction.

CP4 Damage to Procession Fresco.

CP5 Construction of earth floor incorporating fresco fragments.

CP6 Destruction by fire.

Room of the Clay Bath, the Court of the Altar and the Central Clay Area

The area to the N and NE of the South Propylaeum (Fig. 3.1) was rapidly cleared during the 1900 campaign. As is apparent from the early photographs reproduced in Fig. 3.13, few structures of note were uncovered and the account of the excavation in Mackenzie's Daybooks is terse. However, although admittedly rough, sketches by Fyfe contain much useful information and indicate that several construction phases were represented. The stratigraphical relations of these were clarified to some extent by supplementary investigations carried out in 1907 and 1922 (*see* Appendix 1).

Virtually no pottery was retained from the excavation of the area in 1900 and none at all was kept from the later investigations. There seems little doubt that the latest phase recognised in the Room of the Clay Bath, represented by an earth floor overlain by an ash deposit, is contemporaneous with that in the nearby South Propylaeum. However, the stratigraphy of the preceding phases is uncertain, not to say, controversial and it is not immediately obvious what other structures, if any, fall within the period covered by the present study.

Documentary evidence

The passages in the excavation documents that relate to the structures in the area are given in Appendix 1, p 15-21. Much of this material is already available in publications by Palmer (1963a, 1969b), Boardman (1963) and Driessen (1990b) that examined the stratigraphical development of the area. Excavation commenced at the end of March 1900 and is known to have continued until 26 April 1900, the date of the last entry in Mackenzie's Daybooks that mentions the area (16_**D.26.04.1900**). However, structures not mentioned by Mackenzie are described in the report to the British School at Athens (Evans, 1900) and are shown on the plan of the excavation (Evans, 1900, pl. XIII). The same structures can be seen on early photographs of the excavation (Figs. 3.13a, b and Fig. 3.14) and appear on sketches by Fyfe (*see* Fig. 3.16, Fig. 3.17).

The first reported feature was the rim of a pithos, labelled 6, a little to the N of a gypsum doorjamb on the sketch by Mackenzie dated 2 April 1900 (Fig. 3.3), at about the time similar storage jars were found in the nearby South Propylaeum. On 31 March, Mackenzie (15_**D.31.03.1900**) described the discovery, to W of the wall extending S from the jamb, of pottery including intact cups in rouleaux, 'milk jugs' and trays, at a height well above the base of pithos 6. Some days later, Mackenzie described the finding of a bath-shaped receptacle, filled with a *'deposit of carbon ashes'* that enclosed

'*a large number of Mycenaean inscription tablets*' (15_**D.06.04.1900**). The bath itself was contained in carbon ash deposit that began at a depth of 0.30m below the pre-excavation surface and went down to 0.70m - the level of the floor on which the clay bath rested. The N and W walls of what is usually called the Room of the Clay Bath were exposed at this time, as well as a slender partition wall, shown on Mackenzie's sketches (Fig. 3.15a and b). As can be seen from the early photographs (Figs. 3.13a and b) and Fyfe's sketch (Fig. 3.16), the N wall is of double skinned construction. Mackenzie's Ink Version sketch (Fig. 15b) and Fyfe's sketch also show a pithos to N of the clay bath that Palmer (1969b, 78) considered to correspond to pithos 6 on Mackenzie's sketch of 2 April 1900 (Fig. 3.3). Mackenzie's description of the excavation of the Room of the Clay Bath strongly suggests that it was destroyed by fire (15_**D.06.04.1900**).

To N and W of the Room of the Clay Bath was an area - the Central Clay Area - with few visible structures (*see* Figs. 13a,b and 14). A test pit, that reached 'virgin soil' at a depth of 7.50m, penetrated clay with pottery that, below a depth of 0.30m, consisted only of Neolithic sherds. A dyke-like wall, that crossed the area from E-W (16_D**.13.04.1900**), was later said to be of good limestone masonry (Evans, 1900, 17). By the end of the campaign, excavation had exposed a rectangular panel of mosaiko slabs (Figs. 3.14, 3.16, 3.17). Evans (1900, 17) initially interpreted this as an altar base but subsequently recognised it to be a decorative panel at the centre of a floor in what is now generally known as the Court of the Altar. To N of the panel, the gypsum jambs of a multiple doorway were revealed (Fig. 3.14), with a narrow stairway passing down northwards from the westernmost pair. The above-mentioned EW dyke-like wall truncated the stairway (Evans, 1900, 26 and see Fig. 3.14).

Narrow walls, one aligned EW, the other NS, are visible in the background of the early photograph Fig. 3.14. The former may be the structure described by Mackenzie (16_D**.17.04.1900**) in connection with the deep test pit but no further information is available. Tests carried out in the Central Clay Area during 1903, but not described in Mackenzie's Daybook, produced the pottery contained in Boxes 783 and 784 in the Stratigraphical Museum. The walls of the Room of the Clay Bath were removed at some unknown date and by 1903 the layout of the area was as shown on Fyfe's unpublished plan (Fig. 3.18).

According to Fyfe's plan, the EW dyke-like wall, which severed the connection of the Court of the Altar with the area to the N, formed what were interpreted as foundations for the north side of a rectangular building, elongated EW. Several large blocks of the S foundations were depicted on a sketch by Fyfe (Fig. 3.16). They occupy a position approximately where the S wall of the Court of the Altar would have lain if the panel of 'mosaiko' pavement were symmetrically placed. A second sketch by Fyfe (Fig. 3.17) indicates that the height of the top of the blocks is somewhat below that of the 'mosaiko' panel and the blocks thus occupy a position appropriate for a foundation. The blocks and

those of the parallel structure farther N are mostly limestone ashlar of trapezoidal shape, but a few are of gypsum as shown by the ornament of Fyfe's sketches. The blocks were meant to have their well-dressed faces visible and, as Evans (1900, 26) put it, they showed 'a characteristic conformation which has been noticed elsewhere in Mycenaean buildings'. In his report of the 1922 investigation of the structure, Mackenzie note that the blocks were not always set with their dressed face in the correct position and concluded that they had been *'reused'* (18_**D. 1922/II:61**).

Fyfe's 1903 plan (Fig. 3.18) shows that the blocks of the more southerly wall continued in a line westwards to include what had been depicted on the 1900 plan (Evans, 1900) as the line of paving, arrowed on the excavation photograph here reproduced as Fig. 3.13b. The more northerly wall cut through the surviving flight of steps that descended N from the Court of the Altar (Fig. 3.14). In his report that describes further investigations within the area in 1907 (*see* Appendix 1, p.17-8), Mackenzie assigned the two walls to a *'rectangular system, here running with its greatest length E and W extending E-wards as far as the Central Court W facade of the Earlier Palace and cutting W-wards deep into the line of the extension N-wards of the S Propylon'* (16_**D.1907:79**). He commented that '*the system in a general way has the ground plan of a mainland or Pelasgian Megaron'*. The excavation showed that the 'rectangular system' enclosed a structure that he interpreted as the foundations of the E bastion of the great stair up to the upper floor.

By 1922, after further exploration of the 'rectangular system' (Appendix 1, p.18-21), Mackenzie considered that the structure *'was a construction of post-Minoan times'* (18_**D.1922/II:61**) and that it *'was probably of early Hellenic date and may have possibly been a small temple'* (18_**D.1922/II:62**). The investigation showed that the 'Bastion Foundations' continued to the S of and were intersected by the foundations of the 'rectangular system'. To the south of the S wall of this, a sketch of Mackenzie shows the 'Bastion Foundations' to have been overlain by a wall extending NS. From its position and the presence of a rectangular block or slab at its E side (**X** on Fig. 3.19, and see Evans, 1900, pl. XIII), this must be the W wall of the Room of the Clay Bath.

The finds

The excavators described in detail neither the pithos found in the Room of the Clay Bath nor the 'bath' that contained the Linear B tablets. The plain cups, milk pots and trays, found a little S of the S wall of the Room of the Clay Bath (15_**D.31.03.1900**), cannot now be identified with certainty. According to Mackenzie's Daybook description they were at a level above the base of the pithos inside the room and presumably lay within the same deposit as the pithos. Boardman (1963,19) suggested that they were the vessels illustrated on an early photograph that he reproduced as his plate VIIa. He commented that, if the identification was correct, the vessels were unlike any associated with the Reoccupation elsewhere in the palace.

None of the Mycenaean sherds in the top 0.30m of deposit in the Central Clay Area mentioned by Mackenzie (16_**D.13.04.1900/IV**) are preserved in the Stratigraphical Museum but Popham (1965, 316) identified in Iraklion Museum one sherd of LM III B date that may have been recovered during the excavation of the Central Clay Area in 1900 (but see Palmer, 1980, 280). According to Popham (1970, 57), the material in Boxes 783 and 784, supposedly from the 1903 test in the Central Clay Area, was mainly Neolithic but included some sherds of LM III A date and two Hellenistic sherds.

Discussion

There is a considerable variety of opinions on the function and stratigraphical relations of the structural elements in the area. The excavators themselves had a change of mind regarding the nature and date of the 'rectangular system' while the views held by Palmer (1969b, 73) and Driessen (1990a and see below) disagree, at least in part, with one another and with both positions adopted by the excavators. However, it would seem that the earliest structures still visible in this heavily modified part of the palace are the gypsum doorjambs arranged along the N side of the Court of the Altar. According to Mackenzie's reconstruction (*see* Fig. 3.20), prepared in connection with the 1907 investigation, the multiple doorways indicated by the jambs had originally stood above a series of short stairways that led down N into the Room of the Chariot Tablets. At some later stage, all but the westernmost of the doorways had been blocked and the stairways passing down N from them eliminated.

The present floor in the Court of the Altar features a central panel of 'mosaiko' surrounded by rectangular slabs of gypsum. Mackenzie did not describe the excavation of the panel but mentioned it in the Ink Version of his Daybook (17_**D.26.05.1900/IV**), suggesting that it might be an altar base. By the time of the supplementary investigation in 1907, Mackenzie was aware of the true nature of the panel and considered that it was related to the series of gypsum doorjambs to the N. However, Driessen (1990b, 92) observed that the slab between the westernmost pair of jambs was 0.15m below the level of the mosaiko panel and concluded that the panelled floor belonged to a later phase.

The E wall of the Court of the Altar formed part of an earlier W Facade of the Central Court (50_**D.1907:84**), the remains of which are about a metre farther W than the present one (Evans, 1904, 27 and pl. I). The original W wall of the Court had not been found during the early campaigns and one aim of the 1907 investigation was to locate it. Instead of finding the wall or its footings, the system of foundations, elongated NS and 3.70m wide, was discovered and interpreted as the *'substructure of a bastion such as may have flanked on the E the great stair which, to W of the bastion, must have gone up from the S Propylon to the upper storey'* (17_**D.1907:81**). Stair treads, found reused in the Room of the Chariot Tablets (21_**D.1922/II:68-9**), were attributed to the staircase. The excavators' interpretation of the structure was rejected by Palmer (e.g. 1969a, 44), who pointed out that the site of

what he called the 'imaginary staircase' of Evans had been virtually an archaeological blank at the time of excavation, and also by Hiller (1980) and Niemeier (1982). Driessen (1990b, 92), however, noting that no alternative function had been proposed for the structure, accepted the excavator's view but conceded that there was no convincing evidence for the staircase.

An alternative explanation for these obviously early foundations, which, having a width of 3.70m (17_**D.1907:81**), are too wide to be those of a wall, is suggested by the fact that, at a height of 102.01m (Hood and Taylor, 1981), the floor of the Court of the Altar is approximately a metre higher than the floor in the South Propylaeum. It is here proposed that the foundations were the substructure of a flight of perhaps 6 or 7 broad steps that ascended *eastwards* to provide access to the Court by way of multiple doorways, as shown on Fig. 3.21. This interpretation would explain the lack of evidence for a W wall of the Court of the Altar. It is also consistent with Mackenzie's observation that the foundations were thicker and their edge more clearly defined towards the E, where, according to Mackenzie, it *'had a face of small masonry'*. However, *'this face was not traceable in any other direction'* (19_**D.1922/II:63**). Also, the widths of the stair treads, found reused in the Room of the Chariot Tablets (20-21_**D.1922/II:68-9**), are, at 0.50m and 0.60m, unusually great.

The presence of the mosaiko panel in the Court of the Altar and the drain that leads from it (*see* Fig. 3.21) suggest that, as originally designed, the Court had been open to the sky. The Court has architectural affinities with the Lobby of the Stone Seat, both having multiple doorways and panelled floors. It is possible that both rooms originally were components of an elaborate ceremonial approach to the Palace that commenced at the W Portico, passed through the South Propylaeum and terminated in the Central Court. The arrangement that exists at present means that, regardless of their status, all members of a visiting party are directed towards the upper storey rooms of the West Wing.

Subsequently the Court of the Altar became the site of the 'rectangular system'. Initially Mackenzie identified this as the foundations of a 'Pelasgian Megaron' but, following the 1922 investigation, he concluded that the structure was of early Hellenic date, possibly a small temple. The logic that underlies Mackenzie's revised dating for the 'rectangular system' is flawed. The excavation had proved only that the system was later than the 'bastion foundation' not that it was post-Minoan. The dating of the 'rectangular system' to the Hellenic period depends mainly on Iron Age coins and pottery. This material, according to Evans (1928, 6), was found in 1923 and 1924 in the course of the excavation of Neolithic buildings beneath the SW part of the Central Court. The precise location of the coins was not given and must have been at least 3 m distant from the E wall of the 'rectangular system'. The stratigraphical value of the coins and sherds, discovered at so late a date in the excavation of the palace, was discussed by Palmer (1963c) and, in detail, by Driessen (1990b, 99).

They pointed out that, as the coins and sherds were not from the immediate vicinity of the foundations, they could not be used as a chronological criterion.

Popham (1970, 57, footnote 44; 1977, 185-187) argued that the evidence of Hellenistic sherds and fragments of roof tiles in Box 769 (G I 11) in the Stratigraphical Museum could not be dismissed. However, Box 769 carries no date. On the front of its label is written 'Greek Temple, SW of Central Court'; the back of the label is written in Greek. As the material collected during the early campaigns carries labels in English in Mackenzie's handwriting, the objects in Box 769 almost certainly were obtained by the investigations of 1922 or later, as is suggested, in any case, by the reference to a 'Greek Temple'. There is no indication in Mackenzie's account of the investigations in 1922 that evidence had been obtained which *proved* the foundations to be of post-Minoan date. On the contrary, the passages in the Daybook for 1922, in which Mackenzie revised the date of the 'rectangular system', make no reference to objects of any kind that provide a *terminus post quem* for it that is later than the late Neolithic period. It should be noted that long before 1922 the Central Court had been cleared to pavement level and it is difficult to see how post-Minoan material could have survived in the area.

As pointed out by Palmer (1969b, 73), the revised date for the 'rectangular system' is in conflict with the descriptions in the excavation documents of the relations between the S wall of the 'rectangular system' and the Room of the Clay Bath. Thus, although the W wall of the Room of the Clay Bath is shown as incomplete on Fyfe's sketch (Fig. 3.16), it can be seen to encroach on the line of the southern series of foundation blocks of the 'rectangular system'. More persuasive, despite or perhaps because of its casual drawing, is the second of Fyfe's sketches (Fig. 3.17) on which the line of the foundations is interrupted where the W wall of the Room of the Clay Bath traverses it. From levels provided by the same sketch, it is clear that the tops of the blocks that lie to the W of the Room of the Clay Bath are lower than the level of the 'mosaiko' panel in the Court of the Altar. In contrast, the walls of the Room of the Clay Bath clearly rise above the level of the panel (Fig. 3.13a and see Palmer, 1969a, 49; 1969b, 74). Confirmation that the foundations continued without a break beneath the wall of the Room of the Clay Bath is provided by Fyfe's unpublished plan of 1903 (Fig. 3.18). This shows the S foundations as a continuous structure of 15 blocks, all of limestone except for the westernmost that carries the usual ornament for gypsum. Where the W wall of the Room of the Clay Bath crosses the line of the foundations, the ornament applied to the blocks is altered.

From the above there would seem to be little doubt that the 'rectangular system' is intermediate in date between the construction of the stairs down N from the Court of the Altar and the walls of the Room of the Clay Bath, as summarised on Fig. 3.19. However, Driessen (1990b, 97) argued that the S wall of the 'rectangular system' formerly served as the N wall of the Room of the Clay Bath and concluded

that the two structures were contemporaneous. He found no convincing evidence in the area for a destruction of LM III B date (Driessen, 1990b, 100). It is possible that Driessen misinterpreted Fyfe's sketch (Fig. 3.16) which clearly shows that the double-skinned N wall of the Room of the Clay Bath lay entirely to the N of the blocks of the S foundations of the 'rectangular system'. It should be noted that a later date for the Room of the Clay Bath actually favours Driessen's argument that the Linear B tablets found there are later than those found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets.

Boardman (1963, 17) accepted, without discussion, the excavators' view that the 'rectangular system' was a Greek Temple. He considered (Boardman, 1963, 19) that the South Propylaeum was the

Table 3.1. The stratigraphical relations of the structures in the Central Clay area according to various authors

	Excavators I	**Excavators II**	**Palmer**	**Boardman**	**Driessen**
Latest		Greek Temple		Greek Temple	
	Room of the Clay Bath		Room of the Clay Bath		
	Pelasgian Megaron	Room of the Clay Bath	'Rectangular system'	Room of the Clay Bath	Room of the Clay Bath and 'Rectangular system'
Earliest	Court of the Altar and 'Bastion' foundations	Court of the Altar and 'Bastion' foundations	Court of the Altar and 'Bastion' foundations	Court of the Altar and 'Bastion' foundations	Court of the Altar and 'Bastion' foundations

only building in the area to have been reoccupied. He thereby implied that the Room of the Clay Bath was an integral part of the Last Palace and was destroyed along with it in LM III A. The various views regarding the relations of the structures in the area are summarised on Table 3.1. It is considered here that Fyfe's sketches, in conjunction with the excavation photographs, decisively show that the Room of the Clay Bath was separate from and later than the 'Rectangular system'. Consequently, the interpretation of the sequence by Palmer, which corresponds to the original view held by the excavators, is accepted as correct.

Dating the structures

There is no evidence from pottery of secure stratigraphical context and dating the structures in the area is based on characteristics of the architecture and on correlation with better dated sequences elsewhere. Thus, the multiple gypsum doorjambs of the Court of the Altar are typical of buildings of

the 'Great Restoration' of post-MM III B times. The foundations of the 'rectangular system' contain limestone ashlar blocks that are similar in shape to those, considered to be of LM I date that are still in place in the N Entrance area and the Domestic Quarter. As the blocks had been reused, it is inferred that the 'rectangular system' post-dates the destructions of the LM I period (Driessen and Macdonald, 1997) and may date to the LM II period. It is probable that when the 'rectangular system' was levelled in preparation for the building of the Room of the Clay Bath, after the destruction of LM III A date, a makeup deposit was laid down over the Central Clay Area. This would explain the occurrence of the LM III A sherds found at a shallow depth in the area (see above).

In addition to showing the salient, obviously familiar features in the area, Fyfe's sketch (Fig. 3.17) provides useful information on the heights of various floors. Thus the floor in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, which was at a depth of 2m beneath the original ground surface (46_**AE.1900:27**), is 0.93m below that of the Court of the Altar. From the Daybooks, the earth floor in the South Propylaeum is known to have been 0.90m down (1_**D.02.04.1900**). In the Room of the Clay Bath, the base of the clay bath was at a depth of .70m below the surface (see above). The floor on which the bath rested is taken to have been of earth as there is no mention in the excavation documents of a paved or cement floor at the base of the carbon ash deposit. The height of this floor cannot be directly determined as the level of the pre-excavation surface at this point is not known. However, the original ground surface undoubtedly sloped down to the S, as suggested on Fig. 3.22, and as a result the floor in the Room of the Clay Bath may well have been at approximately the same height as the panelled floor in the Court of the Altar. The height recorded by Fyfe in the Room of the Clay Bath is taken to be that of the surface of one of the large foundation blocks shown there by Fyfe in his Survey Book sketch (Fig. 3.17). If so, its top, at 101.79m, was some 0.20m below the level of the Court of the Altar floor and perhaps a similar amount below the earth floor in the Room of the Clay Bath. The foundation blocks were not reported when the floor marked by the clay bath was exposed in 1900 and they presumably had not been uncovered at that time.

The pithos, shown within the Room of the Clay Bath on sketches by Mackenzie (Fig. 3.15b) and Fyfe (Fig. 3.16), was identified by Palmer (1965, 269; 1969b, 78) with pithos 6 (*see* Gig. 3.3), which was uncovered by Mackenzie in the first few days of the excavation (15_**D.31.03.1900**). As in the case of the pithoi in the South Propylaeum, the pithos must occupy the interval between the original ground surface and the first floor level to be encountered in the excavation. This would suggest a correlation of the pithos, the floor on which it rests and the walls of the Room of the Clay Bath, shown conventionally as belonging to the Period of Re-occupation on Fyfe's unpublished plan of 1903 (Fig. 3.18), with corresponding features in the Propylaeum. The prompt removal of the walls of the 'bath room' tends to confirm that the excavators considered them to be late structures.

If pithos 6 corresponds in date to the pithoi in the Propylaeum, it follows that the fire that caused the formation of the 0.40m thick carbon-ash deposit around the clay bath occurred during the LM III B period. Thus, there are grounds for believing that the context of the 31 Linear B tablets, that were contained in the clay bath, was an undisturbed destruction deposit resulting from the fire that terminated the 're-occupation' of the Room of the Clay Bath. It is to be noted that Boardman (1963, 19) considered that the Room of the Clay Bath was not a Re-occupation structure and that there is no stratigraphically significant pottery that either supports or rebuts his conclusion.

Summary

The sequence of events inferred in this account for the Central Clay Area can be summarised as follows.

CC1	Construction of Court of the Altar and the 'bastion foundation' - perhaps LM I.
CC2	Blocking of all but the westernmost of the N doorway system of the Court of the Altar; ?construction of the 'mosaiko' panel.
CC3	Construction of 'Rectangular Building' - ?LM III B.
CC4	Site preparation for and construction of the Room of the Clay Bath: perhaps not earlier than LM III.
CC5	Construction of earth floor in Room of the Clay Bath - perhaps contemporaneous with CC4
CC6	Emplacement of clay bath and pithos 6 in the Room of the Clay Bath.
CC7	Destruction by fire

The evidence for the dating of the events is slight. However, correlation of phases CC4-6 in the Room of the Clay Bath with SP4-6 in the South Propylaeum is indicated by the similarity of the stratigraphical relations of the earth floors and the pithoi in the two rooms. It is considered, therefore, that the earth floor and perhaps also the walls of the Room of the Clay Bath are works of the later part of the 'Reoccupation Period', that is, they belong to the RP2 phase. The Linear B tablets discovered in the clay bath are presumed to have been baked by a fire of LM III B date that brought the RP2 period to a close.

b. South Basement area (Fig. 3.23)

This area lies S of the strong wall, with two narrow openings, that supports the upper level of the palace and had been visible before the investigation started. The S boundary of the area is taken at the S wall of the South Corridor. Excavation commenced early in the 1900 campaign in the E part of the area and was completed in the following year. Further investigations carried out in 1907, 1908 and 1910 mainly concerned the tracing of the stylobates flanking the South Corridor and the exploration of an underground chamber beneath the S Portico and do not concern the present study. From an early stage of the investigation the excavators realised that the main N wall of the area had been buttressed

at a late date by constructions of poor quality rubble masonry (Fig. 3.24). Relevant information from the Mackenzie's Daybooks and the Notebooks of Evans is given in Appendix 1.

The area between the South Front wall and the stylobate of large gypsum blocks that forms the N wall of the South Corridor is divided by a thick EW wall of large-block rubble masonry. The wall is pierced by doorways that give access to small rooms formed by a series of NS crosswalls of lighter rubble construction. All the walls contain reused blocks, one of the most prominent, of well-dressed ashlar limestone with an unfinished offset, being in the main South Front wall on the E side of the entrance to the passage underlying the Corridor of the Cupbearer (Fig. 3.25). The block has the same characteristics as those in walls attributed to the Great Restoration that followed the late MM III destruction and is probably of LM I date.

The excavation

A wall of rubble masonry, built against the main South Front wall to E of the narrow doorway xx (Fig. 3.24), was recognised as 'late' during the first few days of the excavation and was subsequently removed. However, the wall of coarse rubble masonry that extends S from the E end of the South Front wall and a number of structures of similar composition in the area to E of it that carry the same ornament on Mackenzie's sketch are still in place.

In the course of the 1901 campaign, as the excavation proceeded towards the W, further structures buttressing the South Front wall (Figs. 3.26 and 3.27) were identified (Evans, 1901, 9). These were removed, revealing three openings in the face of the wall in addition to the two visible before the start of the excavation, one of them being directly beneath the Corridor of the Cupbearer. The westernmost of the openings gave access to a room, later called the South-West Pillar Crypt. In this room, according to Evans (Evans, 1901,10), was found 'a group of plain clay vases, one of which was of exceptional interest from the fact that it bore on its shoulders an inscription . . . written in the ordinary linear script of the Palace'. The location of the rubble walls and other late structures is summarised on Fig. 3.28.

During the investigation it was realised that at least some of the small rooms had earth floors. For example Mackenzie (22_**D.05.04.1900**) mentions a floor of '*hard-trodden earth at the narrow doorway 1'* (1 on Fig. 3.24). Later he noted that *'A good many of the jars stood on slabs against the walls of the room spaces where they were found* [Rooms 1, 2 on Fig. 3.2]. *This is a practical way of getting a level base for the vessel in the case of a cellar like this with a mud floor'* (21-2_**D.1901/I:77-8**). Examination of the surviving remains of the palace in the course of the present study suggests that earth floors were more widely distributed in the area than was realised by the excavators. The vessels found *in situ* upon the earth floors indicate that at least parts of the area were occupied during LM III

B times. A sounding by Hood beneath the floor in the room at the W side of the South Basements area revealed part of a floor with traces of burnt destruction (Catling, 1974, 34).

The small room (**Y** on Fig. 3.28), to north of the N stylobate of the South Corridor in the SE part of the area, provides important physical evidence for the present investigation. This room (Fig. 3.29a), originally about 4.20m EW by 2.60m NS, was narrowed to about half its original width by the insertion at its N side of a rubble wall, of which only scattered blocks of its lowest courses survive (Fig. 3.29b). Seemingly, to compensate for the reduction in the width of the room, the rubble backing of the stylobate which forms its S wall had been removed. Access to the South Corridor is by means of a narrow doorway, apparently formed by the removal of one of the gypsum blocks of the stylobate. There are no jambs but the gypsum orthostate on the W side of the doorway has been roughly squared off (Fig. 3.29c). This block is severely fire-blackened on its three exposed faces (Fig. 3.29b, c) whereas the limestone blocks of the plinth course, one of which serves as a threshold of the doorway, are unaffected (Fig. 3.29d). The scorching of the N side of the gypsum block indicates that the rubble backing of the stylobate had been stripped away prior to the burning.

As is clear from the modern photograph (Fig. 3.30A), gypsum blocks along the full length of the N stylobate of the South Corridor show the effects of burning down to their bases, being converted to white, fine-grained semi-anhydrite and blacked in places but none of the limestone plinth blocks are affected. By analogy with the Corridor of the Procession, it is argued that, at the time of the conflagration that scorched the stylobate blocks, the paving of the South Corridor was covered by the makeup for an earth floor. The level of the floor presumably corresponded to the top of the plinth block that serves as a threshold for the new doorway. This interpretation appears to conflict with the evidence of a fire-blackened gypsum slab in the paved runner along the South Corridor. However, other paving slabs that are apparently in place in the corridor have not been scorched, suggesting that the pavement had been re-laid using slabs that had previously been fire-damaged. The same mixture of burnt and unburnt slabs occurs in the paving of the Corridor of the Stone Basin in the N part of the Palace (*see* Chapter 5).

The gypsum blocks of the stylobate along the S side of the South Corridor have also been burnt but in their case, the scorching is confined to the upper half of their exposed S faces (Fig. 3.30A). The line demarcating the burnt gypsum from the unburnt is sharp, as can be clearly seen in the excavation photograph (Evans, 1921, fig. 154) reproduced here as Fig. 3.30B. It is presumed that the line marks the level of the ground surface to S of the corridor at the time of the final conflagration.

In the most easterly part of the South Basement area, three structures survive intact which were initially considered by Mackenzie to be of late date (*see* Fig. 3.24). The first of these is an E-trending

wall of rubble masonry (**A** on Fig. 3.31 and see Fig. 3.32) built against the N wall of a narrow room entered from the E through a doorway equipped with gypsum jambs. A short crosswall of rubble masonry (**B** on Fig. 3.31 and see Fig. 3.32) abuts wall **A**, dividing the room in two. In an investigation of the South Basement area, Momigliano and Hood (1994, 146-7) considered Wall **A** in detail (labelled **c** on Fig. 3.34) and concluded that it was contemporary with the doorjambs of the E doorway or later. According to Momigliano and Hood (1994, 146 and see below), the jambs appeared to be sunk into holes cut into a plaster layer in the adjoining Room of the Plaster Pits (**1** on Fig. 3.34) that was perhaps the remnants of a floor.

A rubble wall (**C** on Fig. 3.31 = **g** on Fig. 3.34), also considered by Mackenzie to be of late date, is built against the E end of the N wall of the narrow room which lies to N of the N stylobate of the South Corridor. Access to the South Corridor is by way of a narrow doorway cut through the stylobate. The doorway is comparable to that in the S wall of the next room to the W but, in this case, the flanking gypsum blocks have been roughly cut to form the reveals of doorjambs.

When carrying out further investigations in the area in 1907 (23_**D.1907:37**), Mackenzie discussed the two doorways which he considered out of place in a facade, as he initially thought the stylobate to be, but acceptable if leading from a corridor. However, it is equally inappropriate that what would appear to have been cellars should have been accessed from so prestigious an entrance passage as the South Corridor. The lack of jambs and threshold slabs tends to confirm that the doorways are not original features of the stylobate. Evans (1928, 760 and fig. 490) suggested that the narrow room, that was entered by way of the more easterly doorway, contained the lower flight of a staircase, with the upper flight occupying the companion room to the north. If he is correct, this would tend to rule out the possibility that the doorway was a primary structure as in Minoan times the lower flight of a stairway was generally laid on an underfill of earth. In a footnote on the same page, Evans attributed the short crosswall **B** (Fig. 3.31) to the Reoccupation and considered that it was constructed when the area was converted into 'a dwelling place for later squatters'.

The finds

Boardman (1963, 9-11) has provided an excellent summary of the pottery from the area, as recorded in the excavation documents. A number of large Mycenaean vessels lay at about the level of the floor indicated by the threshold of doorway x on Fig. 3.24. At the same level, at xxx on Fig. 3.24, a large 'couple vase' was found (21_**D.04.04.1900**). A more varied group of vessels (22_**D.1901/I:77-8**) was recovered from the small rooms to W of the entrance to the lower Cupbearer Corridor (Rooms 1, 2 on Fig. 3.26). In Room 1, eight vessels were present. In Room 2 a total of 16 were counted, including several stirrup jars. Evans sketched a number of the vessels in his notebook (*see* Fig. 3.33) but gave no exact locations for them. He considered (Evans, 1928, 760, footnote 2) that the assemblage dated to

LM III B. The vases apparently had stood upon an earth floor as, for stability, some had been placed on stone slabs or pebbles. The deposit that lay above the vases in Room 2 yielded a number of fragments of inscriptions.

Popham (1964) illustrated three stirrup jars (Her. Mus. 2606, 2607 and 2611) that he believed corresponded to the vases listed and described by Mackenzie in his Pottery Notebook for 1901 (PNB I p. 81, vases 13 and 14; PNB I p. 82, vase 15). He considered that the assemblage dated to LM III B but noted (Popham, 1964, 9) that the vase Her. Mus. 2611 had some LM III A features.

Comment

The sparse evidence suggests the following stratigraphical sequence for the South Basement area.

SB1 Construction of main walls: post-LM I on the basis of the reused blocks.

SB2 Construction of buttress walls: not earlier than LM II or possibly LM III A.

SB3 Modifications to N stylobate of South Corridor.

SB4 Emplacement of vases on earth floors: not earlier than LM III B.

SB5 Destruction by fire: not earlier than LM III B.

Other than the pottery obtained by Momigliano and Hood (1994), there is no secure evidence regarding the dates of any of the constructions assigned to phases SB2 - 4. It is possible that they are *ad hoc* responses to a progressive decline in the integrity of the palace buildings. However, the works are so widespread that they may represent a complete reorganisation of this part of the palace, perhaps in response to a major incident, such as an earthquake, that caused extensive damage to the main fabric of the palace. Thus the structures may all be of the same general date and are tentatively assigned to the RP2 phase of the Reoccupation.

c. SE Basement area (Fig. 3.34)

This area consists of a group of small cellar-like rooms and passages with walls built of rubble masonry. Excavation of the area started in its W section in 1900 and was completed in 1901. Relevant information from the excavation documents is given in Appendix 1. The excavations in this area coincided with more exciting discoveries in the upper levels of the palace and little information was recorded. The surviving walls in the area are all built in rubble masonry composed of rounded and partially dressed blocks of limestone and gypsum, at least some of which have been re-used. Momigliano and Hood (1994) distinguished a series of later structures in which the blocks were generally smaller and considered that the area had been extensively reorganised.

The structures

The earliest visible structures in the area are considered to be the thick EW walls **a-d** and **e-e** of large-block masonry (Fig. 3.34). These have been strengthened by the addition of rubble walls **c** and **g** made up of blocks that are of similar composition but significantly smaller in size. Momigliano and Hood (1994, 146) suggested that the eastern part of wall **a-d** might be of the same date as **c** but this seems ruled out by its massive construction (Fig. 3.35). The thin E wall **aa** (Fig. 3.34) of the Room of the Clay Seals is built of smaller stones like the later series of structures. Momigliano and Hood (1994, 147) considered that it was bonded into the large block wall **a** but, as can be seen from Fig. 3.34, it is out of alignment with the E face of wall **a** and is of markedly different masonry. It appears to be moulded against the irregular N face of the EW wall and almost certainly is later than it, possibly being of the same age as the rubble walls **c** and **g** that support the main EW walls. As pointed out above, tests carried out by Momigliano and Hood (1994, 146) yielded pottery that suggests a date for wall **c** not earlier than LM II.

The NS wall **h-hh** (Fig. 3.34) is also built of large block rubble masonry and is taken to be early. Consistent with this is the alignment of the plaster pits **A** and **B** revealed by the excavations of Momigliano and Hood (1994). This suggests that wall **h-hh** influenced the position of the pits although it and the pits are not in actual contact with one another. Momigliano and Hood suggested that the upper part of the wall was a late construction that was possibly bonded with a crosswall **f** of small rubble masonry (Fig. 3.36). The late date of the latter was confirmed by the tests which showed that the structure rested upon the infill of pit **A**. The youngest sherds recovered from the infill are of LM II or possibly early LM III A date.

The presence of an earth floor, which would appear to have been in use during the final occupation of the area, was recognised in the Room of the Clay Signet (**1** on Fig. 3.34) in the course of the original excavation. In the makeup deposit of the floor, fragments of the 'Priest' or 'Palanquin' Fresco were discovered. Mackenzie's comments on the clearance of the room are of interest in indicating his awareness that at least some of his workers lacked the ability to trace a known earth floor (25_**D.1901/I:92**). The Area of the Wheat (**2** on Fig. 3.34) may also have had an earth floor. This is implied by the description of the deposit with carbonised wheat as 'a thin stratum', suggesting that only the presence of wheat grains distinguished the deposit that contained them from those lying above and below. Clearance of the deposit took several days and it is probable that the excavators would have mentioned a paved floor if one had existed. Furthermore, when the deposit of wheat was first encountered, the space in which it lay was treated as the northern half of a single large room. This implies that what survives of the present dividing wall between the Room of the Beans and the Area of the Wheat lay below the floor level at the time of excavation.

Pottery and other finds

Boardman (1963, 9-11) reviewed the pottery listed in the excavation accounts. Mackenzie noted in the ink version of his Daybook that a large pyxis-like vase with spiral ornament rested on the floor of a corridor in the SW part of the area (**X** on Fig. 3.31). In his Pottery Notebook for 1901, he described a number of vases, not mentioned in his Daybook, that were found in the Room of the Wheat and in the 'Room of the Chessmen', probably the Room of the Plaster Pits (Momigliano and Hood, 1994, 138). Popham (1964) illustrated nine vases (vases 6 and 8-15 of his catalogue) now in Iraklion Museum that he correlated with vessels described by Mackenzie from these rooms and the Room of the Clay Signet. He considered that all were of advanced LM III B character.

Recent tests by Momigliano and Hood (1994) obtained pottery from the infill of a plaster pit (**A** on Fig. 3.34) that lay partly beneath the late crosswall **f** in the Room of the Plaster Pits. The youngest sherds, of LM II or possibly early LM III A date, provide a *terminus post quem* for its construction and perhaps also that of the other late rubble structures in the area, most of which appear to have been built to provide support for existing walls.

Other finds in the area include numerous seal impressions that were found mainly in the Rooms of the Clay Seals and of the Clay Signet (Boardman, 1963, 11 and see Appendix 1, p. 24-5). In the latter room was found the clay matrix prepared from a seal, impressions of which occur in the lower EW Corridor in the Domestic Quarter (25_**AE.1901:34-5**; Evans, 1928, 767). Fragments of Linear B tablets were also present in the deposit above the earth floor, the makeup deposit of which contained fragments of the Priest Fresco (Boardman, 1963, 12 and see 25_**D.1901/I:92**). The enigmatic objects in white marble or dark steatite termed 'chessmen' by Evans and Mackenzie were considered in some detail by Momigliano and Hood (1994, 139-40). Some of these were found in the Area of the Beans (24_**D.1901/I:36**), others in rooms further to the north (Boardman, 1963, 12 and fig. 1).

Comment

The stratigraphical sequence in the SE Basement area was examined in detail by Momigliano and Hood (1994, 129-148). The sherds of LM II or perhaps early LM III A date contained in the infill of the plaster pits provide a *terminus post quem* that for the overlying deposit with Linear B tablets, the 'chessmen' and clay sealings, as well as for buttress **f** to S of the Room of the Clay Signet and other walls of similar masonry in the area. Momigliano and Hood observed that 'it seems particularly difficult in this southern part of the palace to divorce the vases which Evans and others have assigned to a reoccupation after the final destruction of the palace from the Linear B tablets and seal impressions which were admittedly involved in that final destruction'. Boardman (1963, 20) had suggested that the LM III B vases recovered in the area were at a high level in the excavation, above

floors that separated them from the deposit that contained Linear B tablets and sealings. However, the admittedly scrappy excavation accounts provide no evidence that substantiates Boardman's claim.

The identifiable features of the stratigraphy of the SE Basement Area can be summarised as follows.

SEB1 Construction of main walls: post-LM I on the basis of the reused blocks.
SEB2 Infilling of the 'plaster pits' and construction of earth and plaster floor: not earlier than LM II or possibly LM III A.
SEB3 Construction of buttress walls: not earlier than LM II or possibly LM III A.
SEB4 Construction of earth floor in South Corridor etc.
SEB5 Introduction of the LM III B vases.
SEB6 Destruction: not earlier than LM III B.

The South Front - summary

It is clear from the widespread distribution of vessels of LM III B date, found intact and in place, that much of the South Front of the palace was in use during the Reoccupation Period. Two construction phases, both considered to be of LM III B date, can be recognised. The earlier of the two, the RP1 phase, can be identified with confidence in a few places only (Table 3.2 and Fig. 3.37a). The evidence for structures of the phase, consisting of a cement floor and its associated threshold slab and jambs, is clearest in the South Propylaeum. It is possible that the paved floor in the Corridor of the Procession and the pavement in the South Corridor, with its reused slabs, are of the same date.

In contrast, the structures of the later RP2 phase are widespread in the region (Fig. 3.37b). Evidence contained in the excavation documents and provided by the surviving architectural remains indicates the presence of earth floors in rooms and passages in the upper level of the palace as well as in the basement areas. In the South Propylaeum, column bases were raised so that their tops were above the level of a new earth floor that was laid down during the LM III B period over the earlier cement floor. Perhaps at the same time as the floor was laid down or somewhat later, a crosswall and a buttress were built against the W wall of the South Propylaeum.

There is no pottery that dates the earth floors inferred to have existed in the Corridor of the Procession and the Room of the Clay Bath. However, the floors occupy a similar stratigraphical position to the earth floor in the South Propylaeum and it is probable that they also date to the RP2 phase of the LM III B period. In both areas, there is clear evidence that the earth floors were in place at the time of a final destruction by fire. In the Corridor of the Procession the unprotected upper parts of the fresco was scorched and in the Room of the Clay Bath a destruction deposit, locally charged with fragments of carbonised wood, was laid down, incorporating pithoi and other vessels still in position on the floor. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the inscription tablets found enclosed by the carbon ash

deposit in the clay bath were baked at this time. A carbonaceous deposit was also present in the Corridor of the Cupbearer but its relations with the a possible earth floor are unclear.

Table 3.2. Inferred stratigraphy of the South Front of the Palace at Knossos

South Propylaeum	Procession Corridor	Court of the Altar and Room of the Clay Bath	South Basement area	SE Basement area	Phase	Date
Destruction by fire in LM III B (**SP7**), (**CP6**), (**CC7**), (**SB5**), (**SEB6**)						
Introduction of pithoi (**SP6**) Construction of crosswall (**SP5**). Earth floor with repositioning of column bases (**SP4**).	Construction of earth floor incorporating fragments of fresco (**CP5**).	Emplacement of clay bath and pithos 6 (**CC6**). Construction of Room of Clay Bath (**CC4**) with earth floor (**CC5**). Construction of 'Rectangular system' (**CC3**).	Laying of earth floors and emplacement of storage vessels (**SB4**). Piercing of stylobate (**SB3**). Buttressing of main walls (**SB2**).	Introduction of storage jars (**SEB5**). Laying of earth floor (**SEB4**).	RP2	LM III B
Damage by earthquake (**CP4**)						
Laying of cement floor (**SP3**). Infilling of cist (**SP2**).	Painting of fresco (**CP3**). Widening of Corridor and construction of limestone and schist floor (**CP2**).	Blocking of E doorways of N 'pier and door' partition of Court of the Altar (**CC2**).		Construction of buttresses (**SEB3**). Infilling of plaster pits (**SEB2**).	RP1	
Destruction by fire in LM III A						
Construction of early S Propylaeum with cist (**SP1**).	Early Corridor with gypsum pavement (**CP1**).	Construction of Court and the 'bastion foundation' (**CC1**).	Construction of main walls and stylobate (**SB1**).	Construction of main walls (**SEB1**).	LP	LM I - LM III A

In the South Basement area, numerous rubble walls, referred to the Reoccupation by the excavators and removed, were constructed to support existing walls. Many if not most of the rooms in the area had earth floors. Doorways were cut through the N stylobate of the South Corridor and an earth floor was laid down over its pavement. In several rooms, vessels of LM III B date were discovered still in their original position upon the earth floors, showing that this area was occupied up until the time of a final destruction by fire. There is little doubt that this was the same fire that affected the structures of the upper level of the South Front area. No pottery was reported that can be attributed to the makeup of the earth floors and their age is uncertain. However, it seems reasonable to correlate them with the

earth floors in the SW Palace area and to assign them to the RP2 phase. The buttress walls in the E part of the South Basement area and in the SE Basement area, left in place by the excavators, are of good quality coursed rubble masonry. They presumably differed in some recognisable way from the 'Reoccupation' structures that were removed. They performed the same function, however, and are most probably of LM III B date although the ceramic evidence for this is limited. They are tentatively assigned to the RP2 phase but are possibly structures of the preceding RP1 phase. That the floors in at least some rooms in the area were of earth at the time of the final conflagration is inferred from such evidence as the thin stratum with charred wheat.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that tests beneath the paved floors in the Corridor of the Procession and the South Corridor and below the cement floor in the South Propylaeum might yield pottery relevant to their dating. The earth fill of the late rubble walls in the basement area may also contain fragments of stratigraphically significant pottery.

Chapter 4

THE EAST WING

Excavation in the East Wing of the palace (Fig. 4.1a) commenced during the 1901 season and was largely completed in the following year, the work proceeding in a generally southwards direction. The treatment of the excavation in Mackenzie's Daybooks is uneven with some areas being described in great detail while, for others, little or no information was supplied.

The architecture of the East Wing is more varied and complex, and in places better preserved, than in any other part of the Palace. As in the South Front, the structures lie at two levels. In the N part of the Wing, the buildings are constructed on two separate terraces cut into the eastern slopes of the Knossian 'tell' (Fig. 4.1b, Section XX′). In the S, the large, pillared rooms of the so-called Domestic Quarter were built on a single terrace cut deeply into the side of the 'tell' at a level about 7m below that of the Central Court (Fig. 4.1b, Section YY′). The protection afforded by the deep cutting contributed to the preservation of some ground floor rooms to their full height, together with parts of the second storey. It is clear from pottery found during the excavation that at least parts of the Palace were still in use in LM III B times. Indeed, Evans (1909, 53) considered that parts of the Domestic Quarter of the Palace were almost continuously occupied up until the Reoccupation Period and was still of this opinion when he wrote *The Palace of Minos*.

The excavation documents contain evidence for a wide range of late structures. Some of these were explicitly described and are datable by means of the associated pottery. One such example is a wall that blocked what Evans (1930, 266) called the 'East Corridor'. When the wall was removed in 1928, sherds attributable to the LM III B period were recovered from it. In other cases, the evidence is circumstantial, such as the reference, in the small rooms to W of the NE Hall, to late walls that did not reach down to the paved floor. The information provided by the excavation documents is supplemented by evidence preserved on the surviving walls of the Palace. This consists of scorchmarks that commence at a sharp line some distance above the paved floor of the palace, leaving the lower parts of the walls unburnt and implying that, at the time of the conflagration, the floor level was higher than the present pavement. The failure on the part of the excavators to recognise the floor suggests that either the floor was of earth or had been robbed of its paving slabs. A good example of such scorchmarks can be seen in the light well to the S of the Queen's Megaron but there is evidence of a high level late floor in much of the N section of the E Wing. As in the case of the South Front of the palace, these late floors are assigned to the RP2 phase.

The excavation documents describe a number of structures in the Queen's Megaron of the Domestic Quarter that appear to be of somewhat earlier date and are referable to the RP1 phase of the Reoccupation. No such structures were reported from the great rooms in the Hall of the Double Axes area that Evans considered had not been reoccupied after the LM III A fire. There are some unusual features in this area, however, such as the exceptional thickness of deposit (Fig. 2.2) and the survival *in situ* of the wooden columns that supported the ceiling of the ground floor rooms. Although there is no direct evidence, it is concluded here that the ground floor rooms in the area had been packed with earth to prevent the collapse of the retaining walls on their W and N sides. It is considered that part of the packing material consisted of clayey deposit containing Linear B tablets. There is photographic evidence that a floor of gypsum slabs with an earth makeup had been constructed over the paving visible at present in the upper EW Corridor.

For convenience, the East Wing region is considered in six areas, as shown on Figure 4.1a.

Area A. NE Hall area (Fig. 4.2)

In this area, that Boardman (1963, 50) considered was 'reoccupied', the structures comprise the NE Hall itself and the two small rooms connected to it by means of a double doorway in the N end of its W wall. At present, none of the surviving remains of the NE Hall reach a height of more than about 0.30m above the floor level (Fig. 4.3a). The rubble walls of the small rooms to the W, on the other hand, in places reach a height of more than a metre. Parts of the gypsum wall linings, that led Evans (1901, 76) to name it the Room of the Gypsum Dado, still adhere to the S wall of the E room (26_**D.1901/II:19** and Fig. 4.3b). A few of the slabs of its paved floor and the original jambs in gypsum of its double door are still in place. Only the foundation course, consisting of a reused threshold slab, survives of the NS wall to N of the doorway that opens into the NE Hall. The W wall of the more westerly of the two rooms is a double one, with a gap of about 0.10m between the two components (Fig. 4.3c).

The arrangement of a low stylobate with two columns, towards the N end of the NE Hall, has the appearance of a portico opening towards the north. However, Mackenzie (26-7_**D.1907:106**) suggested that the hall was a light well that served to illuminate a staircase at its S end. In either case, at a distance of little more than a metre N of the column bases, what Mackenzie described as a 'mud' wall (26_**D.1901/II:12-13**), appears out of keeping with the architecture of the Hall. It is probably a late extension to the N wall of the adjoining rooms to the west which, when excavated, still had fragments of gypsum wall lining on its S face (26_**D.1901/II:19**). It is to be noted that the stylobate with column bases close to the N end of the NE Hall is awkwardly placed in relation to the double doorway in the W wall. This suggests that the Hall and the rooms on the W do not belong to the same building phase or that the original doorway has been modified.

Mackenzie's description of the excavation of the two small rooms that lie to the NW of the NE Hall is moderately detailed (Appendix 2, p. 27 and see Figs. 4.4, 4.5). The layout of the rooms was completely altered by the insertion of rubble walls, as shown on Fig. 4.6 (and see Evans, 1901, 76). It is probable that originally the rooms were accessible only from the NE Hall - by way of the double doorway. A late EW wall (Evans, 1901, 76 and pl. I), that connected the double central jamb of the doorway to the N end of the original dividing wall (Fig. 4.6), had the effect of preventing direct access from one room to the other. The W room would have been rendered completely inaccessible if a narrow EW passageway had not been opened up along the N side of the complex.

The comment by Mackenzie (26_**D.1901/II:19**) that the base of the S wall of the new corridor was some 0.30m above the gypsum slab floor (Section AB on Fig. 4.6) is of considerable significance. It is taken to mean that, as in the case of the W crosswall in the South Propylaeum, the wall was founded in the makeup deposit for a floor. On this occasion the excavators failed to recognise the presence of the floor, presumably because no pottery was found resting upon its surface and it is inferred that the floor was of earth or had been robbed of its paving slabs. The surface of the floor must have been at least 0.30m above the present paved floor.

It is presumed that the structures built against the S and W walls of the E room were for their support. The W wall of the westerly room appears to be double and it is possible that its inner (eastern) element is also a late supporting structure. The wall is strongly built of large-block rubble masonry, perhaps differing in character from those removed by the excavators, and its base reaches down more or less to the level of the present floor. The wall may therefore date from an earlier period, before the earth floor was laid down. It is possible that behind it are remnants of gypsum slabs that lined the original W wall. If the late wall were removed, the arrangement of the two rooms would approach a symmetry that is lacking at present.

It is reasonable to assume that there had been an earth floor in the NE Hall at the same general level as that in the adjoining rooms to the west. A floor at a height of 0.30m or more above that of the present floor in the Hall would have covered most if not all its surviving structures. The walls of the Hall may have been deliberately reduced so that their tops were below the new floor level and were entirely enclosed within its makeup deposit, thereby justifying Mackenzie's comment on the extent to which the region had been disturbed (26_**D.1901/II:10**). The lowering of earlier structures to a level where they can be buried by or incorporated within later ones is relatively common in the palace. Other examples are the early foundation slabs in the room to E of the North Pillar Hall (Chapter 6) and perhaps also the foundations of the 'rectangular system' where they pass beneath the Room of the Clay Bath (Chapter 3).

Mackenzie reported the remains of a pithos and of several jars found in the more westerly of the two annexe rooms (26_**D.1901/II:21**). Evans (1921, 390 and fig. 282) added a plaster seat and a tripod hearth to the list of finds from this room. Evans (1901, 76) recorded the presence of one or two Mycenaean vases in the NE Hall, including a somewhat low stirrup jar with a design of a fish. The excavation documents give no information that indicates whether the finds were contained in the makeup of the earth floor or in the overlying destruction deposit.

By analogy with the structures found in the South Propylaeum, the earth floor and the late walls in the NE Hall area are considered to belong to the RP2 phase of the 'Re-occupation Period'. There is no evidence that the structures here were affected by fire. Thus the gypsum of the steps staircase that ascend W to the SE corner of the Hall (Figs. 4.2, 4.3a) retain their original crystalline texture and were not affected by the fire in LM III A that destroyed large parts of the palace. It is presumed that the steps were buried at the time of the late conflagration that left its mark on walls in nearby areas. The inner element of the double W wall of the more westerly of the two rooms adjoining the Hall may belong to the RP1 phase.

The NE Magazines, which lie to the north of the NE Hall area, were excavated late in the 1901 campaign. Here, large numbers of coarse ware vessels of MM III date or, according to Boardman (1963, 49) MM III - LM I date, were found intact and still in position. It would appear that, in contrast to the NE Hall area, the area that included the NE Magazines was not involved in the reconstruction of the Palace in the period following the destruction of the LM I Palace.

Area B. Room of the Stone Drainheads area (Fig. 4.7)

This area includes the Room of the Stone Drainheads, originally named the Room of the Olive Press, the upper storey room above the Loom Weight Basement, the Area of the Enamel Tablets (Town Mosaic) to the N of it, and the Court of the Stone Spout. In the area, a number of structures were visible prior to excavation, notably a large gypsum block of triangular plan in the E wall of the Room of the Stone Drainheads (Fig. 4.8). It is probable that, in general, the pre-excavation ground surface lay only a little distance above the tops of the surviving walls. Extracts from Mackenzie's Daybooks that describe the excavation of the rooms in this area are given in Appendix 2.

It is clear from the excavation photographs that most of the structures in this area are more or less as they were when their excavation was completed. As excavation here was carried down to basement level, nothing survives of the upper storey room that had lain over the Loom Weights Basement or of the room to the N of it where the Town Mosaic was found. The EW corridor that passes beneath the drain that traverses the area has also been cleared away. In the Room of the Stone Drainheads itself,

the scorched remnants of a paved floor survive (Fig. 4.9), apparently still in position, at a level similar to that of the base of the drainhead block.

Structural remains

For measurements of levels in this area, the excavators adopted as a datum the top of the large gypsum block mentioned above. Unfortunately the practice was not adopted in the case of what appears to be the latest floor in the area, an earth floor constructed over the infill of the Basement of the Loom Weights. Instead, the floor, which was identified because of the tripod pots and other vessels found resting upon it (Fig. 4.10a), was said to be at a depth of about 0.70m below the *ground surface* (27_**D.1901/I:91**). It may be inferred, however, that this was less than 0.25m below the top of the large gypsum block as, if this were not the case, adjacent blocks in the wall would also have been visible (Fig. 4.8). It is presumed, therefore, that the earth floor was somewhat less than a metre below the top of the block. The vases resting upon the floor were initially dated to MM III B by Evans (1921, fig.187b). The partly paved floor associated with a threshold slab in the adjoining Area of the Town Mosaic to the N was explicitly stated by Mackenzie (27_**D.1901/II:01**) to lie at the same level as the earth floor. It is probable that when the floor was in use, the two rooms were combined in one or were connected by a doorway as, otherwise, there is no obvious means of access to the room over the Loom Weights Basement.

In the room to the W, initially called the Room of the Olive Press but later known as the Room of the Stone Drainheads, no corresponding earth floor was reported by the excavators. Instead, excavation on the N side of the shared wall uncovered a floor paved with gypsum slabs at a depth of 1.20m below the top of the large gypsum block referred to above (27_**D.1901/II:01**). The present ground level in the room is about 0.90m below the top of the gypsum datum block. Some paving slabs at this level along the W wall of the room (Fig. 4.9), apparently belonging to the floor but nowhere mentioned in the excavation records, show scorchmarks. In the northern part of the room, with its base at the level of the present floor, lies the large cuboidal block of limestone identified as a drainhead (**3** on Fig. 4.10b). Its top, about 0.40 below the top of the gypsum datum block in the E wall marks a floor that clearly bears no relation either to the scorched slabs at the present floor level or to the paved floor at a still lower level.

The drain flows N from the drainhead for a distance of 4.70m (Fig. 4.10b) where it turns E, collecting water from a tributary from the N, and passes along the N side of a corridor that formerly led to the doorway into the Area of the Town Mosaic (Fig. 4.1A). Just short of the entrance to the room, the drain turns N and is joined by a tributary from the east (Fig. 4.11B). At the junction, according to a sketch of Fyfe dated 12 June 1902 (Fig. 4.12), the channel had descended 0.70m from its level close to the drainhead, that is to a depth of about 1.10m below the top of the gypsum datum block. Fyfe's

measurements apparently refer to the base of the channel, the depth of which varies from 0.09 to 0.14m (28_**D.1901/I:86-7**). The surface of the pavement associated with the drain would thus be about a metre below the datum, at a level closely comparable with that deduced for the earth floor in the adjoining room to the south. This confirms Mackenzie's statement and carries the implication that the drain and the earth floor with the tripod vessels upon it were in contemporaneous use.

Adjacent to the drainhead in the Room of the Stone Drainheads, the tops of the side walls of the water channel are at a height of 0.48m above the present floor. The drain descends towards the N but, where it crosses the EW corridor to the N of the Room, the tops of the sidewalls of the channel were still about 0.45m higher than the threshold slab of the doorway into the Area of the Town Mosaic. If the corridor had been horizontal at the level of the threshold, passage westwards along it would have been impeded where the drain crossed it. It is assumed, therefore, that the floor of the corridor had descended eastwards with a gradient similar to that of the drain. Arguably, in the Room of the Stone Drainheads also, the ground surface maintained its position in relation to the cover slabs of the drain and rose southwards, to the level of the top of the drainhead. It seems likely that the area traversed by the drain was not a room but an external space, such as a small courtyard with an earth floor.

The drain continues in a generally NE direction and eventually passes through the W wall of the Court of the Stone Spout (Figs. 4.11b, 4.13). This is constructed in masonry (Fig. 4.14) of well-dressed ashlar blocks of limestone similar to those in the N Entrance area (cf. Evans, 1921, 364) and is probably of LM I date. The south wall of the Court, of which only parts of its first course remain, is of similar masonry. A few very large blocks remain of the N wall of the Court (Fig. 4.15) but these are of gypsum (29_**D.1902/I:28**) and this wall is probably of later construction than the W wall. There is no evidence in the excavation documents for the stylobate and column bases depicted by Evans (1930, fig. 183; see Fig. 4.16). It is worth noting that none of the walls still in place shows any evidence of having been exposed to fire. This is especially obvious in the case of the gypsum of the blocks of the N wall of the Court which retains its original crystalline structure (Fig. 4.15).

The latest structures for which there is evidence are EW-trending, rubble 'house walls' that abutted the W wall of the Court to N and S of the stone spout (Fig. 4.13 and see BSA 6, pl. XIII). The walls were considered to be late by Evans and were dismantled but are clearly visible on a photograph of 1901 (Fig. 4.17), previously published by Boardman (1963, pl. 15b). The more northerly of the walls, which were removed at the beginning of the 1902 season, partially covered a well sunk in the floor of the Court. In view of the late date inferred above for the drain, any connection between it and the well would seem to be ruled out as the latest sherds found in its infill are of LM I date (Evans, 1921, 380). The deposit infilling the Court to a depth of more than 2m was notable for its varied and well-preserved fragments of fresco (28_**D.1901/II:48**). It seems improbable that these could have been

associated with the structure of which the late walls were part and the deposit that contained the fresco fragments must include debris formed during an earlier destruction and reused as fill.

It is unlikely that the space enclosed by the late walls was in use as a room while the drain was functional. This suggests that the late walls post-date the dismantling of the drain or possibly that the late walls served as retaining structures for a ramp built to allow the drain to descend gradually eastwards. Such a ramp, constructed of fill material derived from an earlier destruction, would readily explain the presence of the fragments of fresco. An analogous structure may have been present at the so-called Royal Villa at Agia Triadha, on the rebuilt W wall of which there are scorchmarks that indicate the position of the ground surface that was associated with a high level late drain (Fig. 4.18).

The pottery and dating of the late structures

According to Pendlebury (1933-5), the only pottery retained from the excavations carried out in the Room of the Stone Drainheads in 1901 (Box 1113) ranged in date from Early Minoan to LM III. The pottery for 1902 recovered from the Court of the Stone Spout (Boxes 967-74) includes material of LM II date. There are no sherds in the Stratigraphical Museum that are known for certain to have been collected from the upper levels in the area of the Loom Weight Basement and the Town Mosaic cleared during the campaigns of 1901 and 1902. Box 1188 contains material that may have come from the room over the Basement of the Loom Weights but its label is mostly illegible. In any case, it is not known whether the sherds, said by Popham (1966c) to be of MM III B date, are from above or below the floor with the tripod vessels.

The high earth floor indicated by the stone drainheads is comparable in level to the earth floor inferred from the evidence in the NE Hall area and may have been continuous with it. It is considered that the drain and the structures associated with it are works of the RP2 phase. There is no evidence that indicates whether or not this area was in use during the preceding RP1 phase.

Area C. The Schoolroom area (Fig. 4.16)

A series of small rooms, comprising the Schoolroom, the Store of Spartan Basalt, the Room of the Stone Pier and the Lobby of the Wooden Posts, lies immediately S of the Court of the Stone Spout and at the same level. Parts of some rooms in the upper storey survived, the most notable being the Room of the Stone Amphora, above the Store of Spartan Basalt and the Room of the Stone Pier. The room was named for a very large stone amphora with three handles found close to the ground surface (30_**D.1901/II:06**). No floor was detected beneath the vase (30_**D.1901/II:07**) but the possibility cannot be ruled out that it had lain on an earth floor.

The Schoolroom and the 'East Corridor'

When the Schoolroom was first exposed by excavation, its N wall of was said to be *'slight construction'* (30_**D.1901/II:48**). This description cannot apply to the surviving remnants of the well-built wall that separates the Schoolroom from the Court of the Stone Spout at present (Fig. 4.16) but must refer to a later structure, since removed. Originally, the Schoolroom was divided into two by a NS rubble wall (*see* Fig. 4.19). In the eastern compartment, resting upon what Mackenzie (29_**D.1901/I:85-6**) described as *'a floor level of slabs'* and was said by Evans to be a bench, was a group of plain vessels, two with opaque white bands on a red ground, one plain pale red and one pale yellow (Fig. 4.20). Evans initially dated the vessels in this area to MM III but subsequently (Evans, 1930, 265) he described them as being 'of advanced LM III fabric', singling out some loop-handled ladles. He attributed the final arrangement of the area to 'the Reoccupation Period - carried out, indeed, not earlier than its later phase, LM III b'.

A narrow passageway, termed by Evans the 'East Corridor' (Fig. 4.18), passes S from the Schoolroom and formerly gave access to the Hall of the Double Axes. At the time of excavation, however, as shown on general plans of the area (Evans, 1901, pl. 1; 1902, pl. 1), the passage was blocked by an EW crosswall (Fig. 4.19). To N of the crosswall, in a magazine-like space, *'a number of jars and three-legged pots (two) were found together on the floor at a depth of 3.50'* (29_**D.1901/II:29**, *see* Fig. 4.19, 4.21). The blocking wall in the 'East Corridor' was removed in 1928 (Evans, 1930, 266) and found to contain sherds that he considered to be of LM III B date and which are now contained in Box 1213 in the Stratigraphical Museum. Sherds of similar type and date, recovered in 1929 when Evans dismantled the rubble wall that divided the Schoolroom, are now in Boxes 1214 and 1215.

Room of the Stone Pier and Store of Spartan Basalt

The cuboidal structure of large block masonry (Fig. 4.19), for which the Room of the Stone Pier is named, was described as being 'later' by Evans. The wall separating the Room of the Stone Pier from the Store of Spartan Basalt and the wall that divided the latter into two compartments were also said by Evans (1930, fig. 183) to be of 'later' date. On the other hand, the rubble blocking of a doorway opening S into the Lobby of the Wooden Posts, that carries the same ornament on the plan (Fig. 4.19) as the previous two structures, was said by Evans to be of MM III B date. However, the E wall of the Store of Spartan Basalt contains reused blocks of the same type of limestone ashlar as occurs in the Court of the Stone Spout and the W Bastion in the N Entrance area (Fig. 4.22). While this suggests that the remodelling of the room took place after the LM I destruction, there is no ceramic evidence that indicates that the 'later' structures here date to the LM III B period when the late modifications in the Schoolroom and the East Corridor were carried out.

The occurrence so close to the original ground surface of the two large, uncompleted gypsum amphorae is difficult to explain. It would appear that the ground floors of the buildings in the area were still in use in LM III B. If the vases indeed date to the LM II period, as suggested by Evans, it follows that the sculptor's workshop must have been an upper storey room, which is hard to accept in view of the great weight of the objects involved. Also, although the find circumstances of the amphorae would suggest that they were enclosed within the debris resulting from the final destruction of the buildings, it is not clear why these had not completely collapsed, allowing the vases to fall on to the ground floor. It would appear that the ground floor rooms were already filled with deposit but the nature, source and purpose of this material is not obvious. The simplest explanation that accords with the archaeological evidence is that the vases are of LM III B date or, if earlier, were still part of the furnishings of an LM III B building. This may have been the upper storey of an earlier building, which had its ground floor rooms infilled with deposit. Alternatively, the entire deposit in the area is to be regarded as an infill, laid down in LM III B times but incorporating materials from an earlier period.

Comment

It is clear from the pottery found intact in the 'East Corridor' and the Schoolroom that this area was occupied during the LM III B period. The evidence of sherds of that date in rubble blocking structures and partitions suggest that they and probably also the other structures are to be assigned to the later, that is RP2, building phase. Whether the area was occupied during the RP1 phase is not known.

Area D. Hall of the Double Axes area (Fig. 4.23).

The chief structures in this area are, from W to E, the Grand Staircase, the Hall of the Colonnades and the Hall of the Double Axes that together make up the N part of the Domestic Quarter. This is sited on a terrace cut into the side of the Knossian 'tell' at a height of about 7m below the level of the Central Court (*see* Fig. 4.1b, Section YY'). Except in the extreme E, all the structures are preserved to ceiling level and parts of the upper storey rooms, believed by Evans to have a similar plan, also survive. The EW Corridor extends along the N side of the rooms at ground floor and upper storey level and, at its W end, forms the landing of the Grand Staircase. In the E, the upper Corridor is accessible from the lower by means of the 'East Stair', considered by Evans to be a 'late' structure. This area also includes the Corridor of Bays, accessed from the W end of the upper EW Corridor, and the Magazine of the Medallion Pithos (Fig. 4.23), alongside on the E. These structures lie a little above the level of the upper storey (Fig. 4.1b, Section XX').

Mackenzie described the excavation of the area at considerable length. Palmer (1963a, 137-145) has extensively quoted his comments, together with those of Evans, and only material that is unpublished or has particular relevance to the present study is given here (Appendix 2). Evans described in some detail the palatial structures of the area in the BSA Reports for 1901 and 1902 and in '*The Palace of*

Minos'. There is no suggestion in the excavation documents of any structures that might belong to the 'Reoccupation'.

Corridor of the Bays and Magazine of the Medallion Pithos

The Corridor of Bays takes its name from the three embayments separated by strong buttress walls that lie on its W side. According Mackenzie's sketch (Fig. 4.24B; 31_**D.1901/II:22**), the Corridor, paved with gypsum slabs, ascended N by mean of three steps that rose by a total of 0.34m. According to the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981), the upper landing of the Grand Staircase, with which the Corridor connects, is at a height of 97.16m, approximately 4m above the level of the ground floor. The height of the Corridor at its N end, from a level in the northernmost bay on Hood and Taylor's plan, is approximately 97.49m. It is clear that the landing of the Grand Staircase and the pavement at the N end of the Corridor of Bays bear the same relation to one another now as they did at the time of their excavation. At present, the corridor is concealed beneath a modern construction of sisal-covered blockboard that mimics the form of the original but is at a higher level.

The floor of the Magazine of the Medallion Pithos, alongside to the E, is paved with rectangular slabs of gypsum. These slabs, which are at a level comparable to those of the scorched pavement in the Room of the Stone Drainheads, show the effects of fire, being fire-blackened in places (Fig. 4.25a). Also, according to Evans, (1921, fig. 233, reproduced here as Fig. 4.25b), they rest upon a layer of 'black carbonized earth'.

The block of masonry, that lies between the doorways that open into the Magazine and the adjoining Corridor of the Bays (Fig. 4.26a), and the outer side of the N wall of the Corridor of Bays (Fig. 4.26b) also show signs of burning. In the first case, the masonry consists of two courses of coarse rubble, the lower being mainly of limestone. The upper course consists of large gypsum blocks that are fire-blackened in places. The N face of the N wall of the Corridor of Bays consists of three courses and part of a fourth of good quality limestone ashlar, resting on a plinth course of well-cut blocks. The wall abuts and appears to be later than the rubble-built retaining wall of the Central Court. The faces of blocks in the wall, which is rarely if ever exposed to direct sunlight, are affected in places by a dark algal growth. However, the plinth blocks and the lower part of the overlying course can be seen to be somewhat reddened by the effects of fire. The upper part of the first course is not affected but all the blocks in the second and third courses have their entire face strongly discoloured. The base of the second course is at a height of about 0.42m above the plinth course.

The pillar between the doorways may incorporate reused fire-damaged blocks but this seems less likely in the case of the N wall of the Corridor of the Bays, which appears to be an original structure. A possible explanation for the pattern of the scorchmarks on this wall is that the lower zone of

scorching occurred at the same time as the gypsum paving in the Magazine of the Medallion Pithos was burned. The upper zone of scorching is considered to be of later date, occurring when the ground surface was at the height of the base of the second ashlar course. The lower part of the wall was thus protected from further burning by a layer of makeup deposit that was not distinguished during the excavation. The surface of the inferred makeup deposit corresponds in its general level to the ground surface indicated by the drainheads in the Room of the Stone Drainheads farther N.

The evidence of the scorchmarks suggests that the area had been affected by fire on two occasions. During the first conflagration, the gypsum paving in the Magazine of the Medallion Pithos and the plinth course of the N wall of the Corridor were scorched. The second fire occurred after a floor had been laid down at a higher level in the passage N of the Corridor of the Bays, and probably also in the Corridor itself and the Magazine adjoining it. Evans dated the paved floor in the Magazine of the Medallion Pithos to MM III B on the evidence of the medallion pithos that rested on it.

The Grand Staircase

It is evident from Mackenzie's comments on first uncovering structures belonging to the staircase (31_**D.1901/II:24-5**) that, initially, he took it to be a buttress, similar in kind to but wider than those previously encountered in the Corridor of Bays to the N. Stages in the excavation during the period 9-14 May 1901 are illustrated on Fig. 4.24 that is based on Mackenzie's sketches. In the entry for 14 May (31_**D.1901/II:27**), he explicitly identified the S face of the 'buttress' as a *'wall'*, noting that it was *'a later addition'* laid against the W wall of the recess to the S. At about the time when Mackenzie realised that the structure he was excavating was a stairway and that the 'buttress' was not a solid structure (31-32_**D.1901/II:30-1** and see Fig. 4.24E), the conjectured state of the excavation was as depicted on Fig. 4.24F. At the time of excavation, the central wall of the Grand Staircase leaned markedly to the east (32_**D.1901/II:34** and Fig. 4.27). Within a year, the Staircase was in a state of collapse and 'heroic' measures had to be taken to preserve it, as graphically described by Evans (1902, 33; 1921, 341).

From Mackenzie's description, it may be inferred that EW rubble walls had connected the W wall of the staircase to the ends of the wall that, together with wooden columns to N and S, made up the central structure of the stair (*see* Evans, 1921, fig. 237). The rectangular space thus formed presumably enclosed an earth fill, the whole forming a structure that completely blocked the stairway. It would appear that Mackenzie either failed to realise that he had excavated a blocking structure set in place by the occupants of the palace or was unwilling to face its implications. In either case, there is no further reference to the structure in the Daybooks and it was immediately removed. Evans did not mention the blocking structure in the BSA Report for 1901 or in '*The Palace of Minos*'. The conclusion seems unavoidable that the sealings found in the deposit overlying the stairway

(32_**D.1901/II:33**; 32_**D.1901/II:34**) were contained in the infill of the blocking structure, as any deposit covering the landings to N and S of the W flight of the stair had previously been removed when 'bays' 4 and 5 were cleared.

The EW Corridor and East Stair

The EW Corridor extends along the N side of the area (Fig. 4.23) on both the ground floor and upper storey levels, the walls on either side at the upper level being preserved to a height of more than a metre in places. Excavation of the W end of the upper Corridor in 1901, when it was believed to be a continuation of the Corridor of Bays, was described in some detail in the Daybooks (Appendix 2). Progress was slow because of large limestone blocks within the deposit (e.g. 31_**D.1901/II:22-3**) and three day's work was required to clear this small space to a depth of about 2m. It is possible that the large stones had been deliberately set in place to support the W wall of the Corridor at some time after the blocking of the Grand Staircase. There are interesting parallels between Mackenzie's comments and those of Popham (1984, 17) when describing the difficulties encountered in excavating of the stone fill in the W end of the Pillar Hall in the Unexplored Mansion. Here also, the deposit may have served to strengthen a retaining wall that showed signs of collapsing (*see* Appendix 7).

When the blocks encumbering the W end of the EW Corridor were cleared, large numbers of inscription tablets and clay sealings were found *'just above the floor'* (32_**D.1901/II:30-1**). It may be of significance that the finding of tablets was first reported on 11 May 1901, in the same entry that records the discovery of the three steps down to the S in the Corridor of Bays. The floor referred to by Mackenzie, that is visible in the early photographs, almost certainly corresponds to the present paving. The lower Corridor was not cleared until the following year when an even greater number of Linear B tablets and sealings was recovered (e.g. 34_**D.1902/I:22**). Included in the sealings found in the lower corridor were several that corresponded to a clay matrix found in the Room of the Clay Signet in the South Basements (Evans, 1928, 767).

The lower EW Corridor is connected to the upper by means of a stairway that ascends westwards from its E end. The new stair passes over a corridor, blocked in Evans' restoration, that connected the Hall of the Double Axes with the Schoolroom complex (Fig. 4.28). As noted by Mackenzie, the steps over the passage had collapsed (34_**D.1901/II:64**), implying that the passage was still open and in use at the time of the destruction. However, the uppermost three steps of the stair had survived more or less in place (34_**D.1902/I:19-20**). An early photograph (Fig. 4.29a) and an unpublished section by Fyfe, which is reproduced here in part as Fig. 4.29b, show that, as first reconstructed, the stairway contained 20 steps that reached a height two steps above the level of the floor indicated by doorjambs and column bases in the adjacent upper storey Hall of the Double Axes. A second early photograph (Fig. 4.30A) shows the reconstructed Corridor descending W by means of a ramp. Clearly, the top step of

the E Stair was at a level higher than that of the EW Corridor at its W end, where it forms the landing of the Grand Staircase. On the N wall of the upper Corridor frescoed plaster was found still in place and with its colours preserved (34_**D.1901/II:72-3**).

Modern flooring conceals the upper EW Corridor paving but at present this appears to be more or less horizontal. Moreover, whereas a plan of the Domestic Quarters by Christian Doll (Evans, 1921, fig. 240) shows the East Stair as having 20 steps, which is the number shown on the abovementioned elevation of the Domestic Quarters by Fyfe (Fig. 29b), a photograph (Evans, 1930, fig. 185) shows the East Stair as having only 19 steps, which conforms to the present number. It would appear that before 1930, the 20th step of the East Stair and the compensatory ramp down W shown on the early photographs were removed, and the E part of EW Corridor was lowered to its present level.

The most obvious explanation for the changes to the upper EW Corridor is that they were meant to correct what Evans presumably had decided was an erroneous restoration whereby the floor connected with the E stairs was at a higher level than the landing of the Grand Staircase. However, early photographs indicate that a floor had formerly existed above the present one in the upper Corridor. The evidence consists of a baulk left unexcavated on the N side of the corridor, a little to the E of the door leading into the Corridor of Bays (Fig. 4.30A-C, and see Brown, 1994, fig. **55a**). In the 'baulk', the remains of a pavement of thin slabs, possibly of gypsum, can be seen resting upon a makeup deposit. This has a thin basal layer, perhaps of clayey material, on which rested a deposit of rougher texture. It is likely that the paving in the 'baulk' belongs to the floor further E in the Corridor shown in the course of excavation on another early photograph (Fig. 30D, and see Brown, 1994, fig. **46b**). It is presumed that the slabs in the W part of the upper Corridor had been removed in antiquity, perhaps when the large limestone blocks were set in place against its W wall, thus explaining why the excavators found no trace of a floor in that area. The large patch of wall plaster, that appears on the photograph to be related to the higher paving, is no longer in place. The large blocks of the N wall of the Corridor, including those that had been covered by the plaster, are somewhat reddened by the action of fire.

The remnants of pavement in the 'baulk' are estimated to be at a height of 0.25-30m above the present floor in the Corridor, equivalent in height to perhaps two steps. If the East Stair when excavated reached the level of the upper floor, its uppermost steps would have rested upon the earlier floor of the upper Corridor. This would explain why they had survived more or less in position whereas the lower steps to the E, above the passageway leading N from the Hall of the Double Axes, had subsided. Mackenzie had noted that the uppermost three steps of the East Stair had been supported by the debris of the lower EW Corridor (34_**D.1902/I:19-20**) but did not indicate of what the debris consisted or address the problem of how or when it was laid down. This is despite the fact that at the time of the

excavation the lower Corridor was found more or less intact but packed up to ceiling level with deposit.

Further evidence on floor levels in the upper EW Corridor is provided by plaster (34_**D.1901/II:72-3**), found still adhering to the N wall of the passageway where it passed S of the Basement of the Loomweights. The plaster, that reached a height of about 0.60m from its base, had been painted and still had its colour preserved. Its base, at floor level, was said to be at a height of 3.40m above the ground floor level in the area, its top only 0.20m below the pre-excavation ground surface, said to be about 4.50m above the ground floor at the W end of the fresco. It is presumed that the frescoed plaster was related to the upper of the two floors. However, as the lower of the floors at present is some 4m above the ground level floor, it is clear either that the level given for the base of the fresco is an error or the upper Corridor had been severely affected by subsidence, perhaps as a result of the decay of the wooden beams built into the rubble walls of the Hall.

If, as seems likely, the wall plaster was related to the upper paved floor at the level of the upper landing of the Grand Staircase, its top must originally have been at a height of about 4.85m above the ground floor in the Hall of the Double Axes, that is, at a height of at about 98m. By analogy with the Corridor of the Procession, the evidence of the plaster in place with its colours still preserved suggests that it had been protected by the makeup for a floor reaching this height in the upper EW Corridor. This is at a level comparable to that of the base of the scorchmarks on both sides of the doorway in the N wall of the Corridor of the Bays (Fig. 4.26).

The Hall of the Colonnades and the Hall of the Double Axes

Mackenzie described the excavation of the ground floor rooms in some detail. Several of the ceiling beams of the Hall of the Colonnades were found to have sagged from their original position to a greater or less extent (32_**D.1901/II:57-8**) but were still supported by the deposit that filled the Hall. The wooden columns that supported the ceiling of the Hall of the Double Axes were still in place, although carbonised (33_**D.1901/II:71**). In the light well of the Hall of Colonnades an inscribed sherd was found of a vessel that, according to Evans (1935, 738, *see* Appendix 2, p. 33), dated from the early phase of the Reoccupation Period on the Palace site. Otherwise, there were few significant finds in the area (33_**D.1902/I:24-5**).

Pottery, Linear B tablets and clay sealings in the Hall of the Double Axes area

Two principal assemblages, of nearly intact vessels, were reported from the Corridor of the Bays (31_**D.1901/II:22**, Evans, 1901, 8) The vessels, in a unique style (Fig. 4.31), were perhaps of LM III date (Evans, 1921, 567). There is some uncertainty regarding the location of one of the assemblages. Thus, Evans placed it on the floor in the first bay from the N whereas Mackenzie states that the pottery

was found in the second bay and makes no mention of a floor. It is unclear, therefore, whether the vessels were contained in the floor makeup deposit or in a destruction deposit that rested on the floor. Boxes 1105 and 1106 in the Stratigraphic Museum contain material from a test beneath the floor of the northernmost bay. The former, from the first metre, contained mainly Neolithic sherds together with one restored vase and a few sherds of Middle Minoan date. Box 1106 contained only Neolithic sherds.

The Magazine of the Medallion Pithos takes its name from the large storage jar found resting upon the floor. Evans considered the jar to be of MM III B date but Niemeier (1994, 82) has pointed out that pithoi of this type were still in use in the W Magazines at the time of the 'final destruction' (LM III A). Box 1109 in the Stratigraphic Museum contains material from a test beneath the gypsum floor. The sherds are mainly Neolithic, together with a small number of Middle Minoan sherds and a single fragment of LM I date.

A total of 16 boxes, 1339-1354, were retained from a test carried out in 1905 beneath the 6th and 7th steps of the East Stair. According to Popham (1976, 195), the material is largely LM I A but a number of sherds with floral design are of LM I B date. Pottery retained from the Hall of the Colonnades and the Hall of the Double Axes is almost all from tests beneath the paved floors and has no immediate relevance to the present study.

As mentioned above and discussed in detail in Chapter 7, large numbers of Linear B inscriptions were found in association with clay sealings in the upper and lower EW Corridors and in deposit overlying the Grand Staircase but in most cases their precise find-locations are unknown. Tablet Dv 8151 from the Queen's Megaron was recognised by Chadwick and others (1990, *VIII*) as a join with Dd 1374 from the EW Corridor area and reclassified. However, the circumstances of the discovery in 1911 of fragment 8151 (Chadwick, 1962, 53) mean that its actual provenance and stratigraphical horizon must be considered dubious. In the lower EW Corridor impressions were found that had been produced by the seal from which the clay matrix recovered in the Room of the Clay Signet had been prepared (25_**AE.1901:34-5**; Evans, 1928, 767).

Discussion

Setting aside the prestigious character of the architecture, the most striking feature of the area is the survival in a virtually intact condition of much of its ground floor structures with part of the upper storey. Evans (1921, 327-8) accounted for this in the following passage. 'It would seem that the debris due to the falling in of masses of sundried bricks from the upper stories had infiltrated (partly owing to the subsequent solution of the clay) into the covered part of the building below, and thus led to the formation of a compact filling which had held up the floors and terraces above. The wooden columns themselves seem to have for the most part survived awhile in an unburnt condition. Later on, however,

when owing to the result of chemical action they had become carbonised, their function of supporting the incumbent structures above had been taken up by this natural concretion of the fallen materials. Only in the case of the wooden architraves and the transverse beams that traversed the walls the carbonising process left a certain void, usually involving a subsidence of the overlying structures to that extent. Except for this slight lowering of level, however, almost the whole floor of the first storey, including pavements and door-jambs, was found in situ throughout this Quarter, to a degree that seemed little short of miraculous'.

Evans' statement is of interest in that it implies that he considered that the area had escaped the fire that destroyed the remainder of the Palace. However, apart from the inscribed sherd mentioned above, there were no finds that indicated that the area had been inhabited during the Reoccupation Period. Indeed, apart from the Linear B tablets, the date of which has to be established, there is little evidence to show that the Hall of the Double Axes area was occupied during the LM II/III A period. Mackenzie's description of the excavation of the Hall of the Double Axes (Appendix 2) does not contain a single direct reference to late structures. The situation is thus markedly different from that which holds in the Queen's Megaron area of the Domestic Quarter that lies immediately to the S and requires an explanation.

Evans' suggestion that material had infiltrated from above is unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. Thus, it fails to explain how brick that presumably had been burnt was rendered fluid. Burnt mud brick and pisé-like material at the Palace of Mallia (*see* Shaw, 1973,78-9; 189-90) has survived exposure to the weather for almost a century without significant damage. Even if liquefaction of the mud brick had occurred it is difficult to understand how the ground floor rooms came to be filled up to ceiling level by the fluidised deposit. This could have happened only if the rooms were completely sealed which is obviously not true of the Hall of the Double Axes. Evans' mechanism also fails to address the problem of the striking difference between the deposits in the EW Corridor, characterised by an abundance of inscribed tablets and clay sealings, and those in the large room spaces alongside to the south. However, the most remaining serious problem not addressed is the exceptional thickness of the deposit present in the area prior to excavation (*see* Fig. 2.2).

The pre-excavation ground surface in the W of the area, at a level near to or somewhat above that of the Central Court, was at a height of about 7-7.50m above ground floor level in the area. The eastwards descent of the ground surface was initially gradual and, in the upper storey, doorjambs were found still in position that corresponded to those of the more westerly of the two pier-and-door partitions that subdivide the Hall of the Double Axes. Further E, the slope apparently descended more steeply and little survived of the original E wall of the Hall. It can be estimated that the deposit within the area to the W of the partition had an average thickness of almost 6m, significantly greater than was

found in any other part of the Palace. The total amount of deposit removed by excavation from the area that comprises the Hall of the Colonnades, the EW Corridor and the Hall of the Double Axes to W of the eastern pier-and-door partition can be estimated at almost 900 cubic metres. The length of the walls that enclose the area and flank the EW Corridor on its S side amounts to about 75m - some 15m of which consists of pier-and-door construction. The upper storey walls may be taken to have been 0.80m thick, a little less than the surviving walls in the ground storey, and 3 - 3.5m high. The thickness of clay makeup in the upper storey floors is unlikely to have exceeded 0.20m. On the basis of these figures, the total volume of material making up the walls and floor of each upper storey amounted to 200 cubic metres at most. This means that, in order to account for the quantity of deposit encountered by the excavators, all the debris produced by the disintegration of four storeys above the surviving ground floor structures is required. A building at least 5 storeys high seems improbable given that the Late Bronze Age builders lacked the benefit of hydraulic cement or even lime mortar.

An alternative explanation to that suggested by Evans for the survival of the ground floor rooms and the thickness of the deposit that infilled them is suggested by the condition of the Grand Staircase at the time of its excavation. It was obviously unstable, with its central wall leaning markedly to the east, and within a year was in a state of collapse so that 'heroic' measures had to be taken to preserve it (Evans, 1902, 33; 1921, 341). The arrangement of the Grand Staircase, its light well in the Hall of the Colonnades and the adjoining Hall of the Double Axes accords with the usual configuration for Late Bronze Age buildings constructed on bench sites in being set against the retaining wall at the back of the site platform. Thus, the staircase, including the compacted earth fill upon which, typically, the treads of the lower flights were laid, acted as a buttress.

It is possible that that the Late Bronze Age builders of the Palace underestimated the magnitude of the lateral forces exerted by soils against a vertical retaining wall (*see* Scott, 1974; Sutton, 1993) or lacked the means to cope with them. Thus, in the absence of hydraulic cement, retaining walls were generally constructed of large-block, coursed rubble or ashlar masonry that depended for their strength on the weight of the blocks and the frictional forces between them. In some cases, as in the Court of the Stone Spout, the blocks were in contact with one another; in the retaining walls of the Hall of the Double Axes area, a thin layer of earth intervened between courses. In either case, the effect of water on such structures is twofold. The forces exerted by the retained soil are increased when it is waterlogged and the strength of the wall is diminished through lubrication. It is important, therefore, that the soils behind the retaining wall are adequately drained. The 'Cyclopean' walls composed of very large, polygonal, interlocking blocks, which are a feature of the Mycenaean mainland citadels such as Mycenae and Tiryns (Loader, 1998), may well have had greater resistance to lateral pressures than the masonry of squared blocks at Knossos.

The retaining wall that forms the W side of the Corridor of the Bays is only about 4m high but is nevertheless supported by a closely spaced series of buttresses. The southward continuation of the wall, in the Domestic Quarter, is almost 8m high and was doubtless even more in need of support. Even a relatively minor deformation of the wall would have had severe, if not catastrophic, consequences for the three- or possibly four-storey high building of which it formed an integral part. It is conjectured that some movement had occurred, causing the central wall of the Grand Staircase to tilt to the east, and forcing the occupants of the Palace to take measures to prevent its complete collapse. It is suggested that the initial attempt to stabilise the retaining wall involved the insertion of the rubble wall and earth blocking structure between the lower and upper northwards ascending flights of the Grand Staircase (see above p. 67 above).

The measures taken to stabilise the W retaining wall had the effect of severing any direct connection between the ground and upper floors in the Hall of the Double Axes area. At present, in addition to the Grand Staircase, the upper storey is accessible by means of the 'East Stair', at the E end of the EW Corridor. Evans (1930, 273-4) considered that this had been constructed after a serious collapse had affected the E end of the Hall of the Double Axes and commented that 'the Minoan architect seems to have seized the occasion of supplying a more direct access from the upper to the lower floor'. However, if, as suggested above, the Grand Staircase had been deliberately blocked, then construction of the East Stair was not a matter of choice but of necessity - a much more powerful motive. Evans (1930, 274-6) was aware that the stair was of 'later' date than the main structures in the area and in 1905 carried out tests into its underfill. These yielded pottery of the LM I period (Popham, 1966c, 194-5) which provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the stair.

It is suggested here that, when they were constructing the 'East Stair', the occupants of the Palace also deliberately packed the lower EW Corridor with debris. This was done partly in order to buttress the N retaining wall of the area but also to support the weight of the makeup for a new paved floor in the upper Corridor, at a level corresponding to the top step of the 'East Stair'. It is presumed that the new floor was continued into the Corridor of the Bays, eliminating the three steps up to the north. The floor levels in the bays no doubt were adjusted to match. Arguably, therefore, the blocking structure in the Grand Staircase, the construction of the 'East Stair', the packing of the lower EW Corridor and the laying of a new floor in the upper Corridor were all part of the same building operation. It is considered that, in the course of the works, the builders exploited, as fill, materials produced during the destruction of earlier palaces, including deposit that contained baked Linear B tablets and clay sealings.

From their content and handwriting, it is evident that all the tablets found in the area of the EW Corridor belong to a single assemblage. Of 372 Linear B tablets and part tablets assigned by Evans to

the area, 295 have numbered joining fragments. If all the component fragments of the Linear B tablets had precisely defined find places, their evidence would undoubtedly have confirmed or precluded the correlation of the deposits that contained them. Regrettably, Evans assigned all the inscriptions to the 'Area South of the Bay of Seal Impressions'[1]. However, the presence of abundant clay sealings in the lower EW Corridor deposit supports its correlation with those occupying the upper Corridor and overlying the steps of the Grand Staircase. If all the deposits consisted of fill rather than of undisturbed destruction debris, this would satisfactorily explain the somewhat irrational distribution of the tablets and sealings in prestigious stairways and dark passageways. The interpretation of the deposit with tablets in the upper EW Corridor as the makeup for the new paved floor, rather than as a destruction deposit, may explain why the finding of tablets and the discovery of the steps down S in the Corridor of Bays were first reported at the same time. Presumably, in the two areas, the excavation passed below the level of the upper floor more or less simultaneously. It is considered most probable that the tablets were baked by the fire of LM III A2 date[2].

While explaining the distribution of the tablets and clay sealings, the works listed above do not account for the main bulk of the deposit in the area. It is suggested that the first attempts to buttress the retaining walls in the Hall of the Double Axes area proved inadequate or the Palace suffered further damage compelling the occupants to take the drastic step of completing the packing of ground floor rooms with earth. This may have been carried out in stages, starting with the Hall of the Colonnades. A marked eastwards bulge in the upper part of the E wall of this room (Fig. 4.32), if not post-excavational, may have resulted from the transmission of strain through the deposit that packed the room. In any case it seems likely that, by the time of the final conflagration, the Hall of the Double Axes had also been infilled to the level marked by the scorchmarks at a height of almost 98m. The packing of the ground floor rooms is tentatively assigned to the RP2 phase. A fragment of a bowl, inscribed with Linear B signs and considered by Evans (1935, 738 and see Appendix 2) to be of the mature LM III class, gives a *terminus post quem* for the deposit infilling the Hall of Colonnades which is consistent with this interpretation.

If these measures had been carried out, they would provide a reasonable explanation for the survival of the wooden columns found *in situ* in the Hall of the Double Axes (33_**D.1901/II:71**). It would also explain why ceiling timbers, especially of the Hall of the Colonnades (32_**D.1901/II:57-8.**), had merely sagged from their position instead of falling to the floor. It is significant that removal of the deposit around the Grand Staircase by Evans in the course of the excavation came close to precipitating the collapse that the palace occupants may have endeavoured to prevent. If it should

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[1] Corrected by Palmer (1963a, 59) to 'Area East of the Bay of Seal Impressions'.

[2] See Chapter 7.

seem unreasonable to infill the entire ground floor in the Hall of the Double Axes area, it is worth considering what alternative measures were available to late Bronze Age builders and the consequences for the building if these had failed. If the crisis was the result of an earthquake, the need for the occupants to respond may have been urgent. The state of the palace economy at the time is not known as this depends on the date when a pragmatic decision was taken to sacrifice the ground floor accommodation in order to prolong the life of at least two upper storeys. The proposed mechanism is cheap and rapid and demands no special skills.

Summary

The history of the late structures in the Hall of the Double Axes area is considered to be as follows. Firstly, the buttress that blocked the Grand Staircase was emplaced, forcing the occupants to construct the East Stair. The packing of the ground floor EW Corridor and the construction of the late floor of gypsum slabs in the upper Corridor are considered to date from this period also. These structures are here assigned to the RP1 phase (Table 4.1). The Linear B tablets and clay sealings found in the lower EW Corridor and in the makeup deposit of the late paved floor in the upper Corridor were possibly baked by the fire that destroyed Evans' 'Last Palace' in the later part of the LM III A period.

Table 4.1. Summary of late structures in the Hall of the Double Axes area

Corridor of Bays	Hall of Colonnades	Hall of the Double Axes	Construction Phase
Conflagration of LM III B			
Floor ?of earth at c. 98m (c. 0.60m above present pavement)	Ground floor packed with earth; floor over upper EW Corridor at c. 98m.	Ground floor packed with earth; floor over upper EW Corridor at c. 98m	'Reoccupation Period' RP2 phase (LM III B)
possible earthquake			
?Reconstruction of pillar between doorways in N wall	Grand Staircase blocked by rubble and earth construction. Lower EW Corridor packed with deposit containing sealings and Linear B tablets; floor of gypsum slabs in upper EW Corridor at c. 97.4m - laid on earth makeup with Linear B tablets (in baulk)	Construction of 'East Stair', ascending to level of gypsum paving in upper EW Corridor	'Reoccupation Period' RP1 phase (LM III B)
Conflagration of LM III A2:1			

Subsequently, the ground floor rooms in the area of the Room of the Double Axes were infilled, the surface of the infill, perhaps to a level of about 98m indicated by the scorchmarks on the N wall of the

Corridor of the Bays. This provides a plausible explanation for the survival of the wooden columns found intact although charred in the Hall of Double Axes. It is ironic that in removing the deposit that encased the Grand Staircase Evans came close to precipitating the collapse that the inhabitants of the Palace had sought to avert. If it appears unreasonable to infill the entire ground floor in the Hall of Double Axes area, it is worth considering what alternative measures were available to the Bronze Age builders and the consequences for the building if the W retaining wall had failed. If the crisis was due to seismic activity, the occupants may have felt that an urgent response was required. The state of the palace economy at the time is not known as this depends on the date when the pragmatic decision was taken to sacrifice the ground floor rooms in order to prolong the life of the upper storeys. The proposed mechanism is inexpensive, quick and demands no special skills to carry out but does imply the existence of a considerable workforce and an organisation committed to prolonging the life of the palace.

Area E. Queen's Megaron area (Fig. 4.33).

In the area, which consists of the southern part of the Domestic Quarters, the chief structures are the Megaron itself, the Court of the Distaffs, the Room of the W Seat, the Private Staircase and the Service Staircase. The first structure belonging to the Queen's Megaron, a large gypsum block that formed its NE corner, was encountered in the excavation on 21 February 1902. Excavation proceeded rapidly thereafter and was essentially complete by 19 March of that year.

The area falls into two parts. In the W, as in the Hall of the Double Axes, the ground floor rooms are preserved intact apart from minor subsidence of the ceilings, together with parts of the upper storey. There is little documentary or physical evidence of late structures and there were few finds of importance. In marked contrast, in the eastern part of the area, the rooms are less well preserved and a wide range of late structures, including rubble-built partition walls and door-blockings, had completely altered their layout. Daybook entries, which are corroborated by the physical evidence of scorchmarks, indicate the presence of earth floors and provide a description of what is interpreted as makeup deposit. Pottery found in position or in what appears to be a destruction context shows that the area was still in use in the Reoccupation Period. The relevant passages from the excavation documents are quoted in Appendix 2.

Eastern part of the Queen's Megaron area

Excavation started in the area to E of the Queen's Megaron where entries in Mackenzie's Daybooks record finds of fresco fragments at three distinct localities. At the first of these (Locality **A** on Fig.4.34A), the fragments occurred in a stratum a little above the level of the nearby paved floor (34-5_**D.1902/I:05**). Mackenzie's description is not explicit but the layer appears to consist of fragments of fresco, at least some facing upwards, embedded in plaster and is possibly a floor. The second, larger

deposit (Locality **B** on Fig. 4.34A). - the 'stratum of the Fish-fresco' (36_**D.1902/I:11-12**) - was at a height of 0.70m above the paved floor level in the entrance to the EW corridor to S of the Megaron (35_**D.1902/I:9-10**). It contained fragments of two distinct frescoes, one with miniature female figures, the other a marine scene with dolphins, various other fish and rocks. It is clear that the fresco stratum was at a level higher than the tops of the walls on either side of the doorway as neither of these is shown on Mackenzie's sketch. In particular, a large gypsum block that forms the S side of a doorway leading into an EW corridor (*see* Fig. 4.34B) was not uncovered until 26 February two days after the finding of the fresco fragments was reported (36_**D.1902/I:11-12**), while an early photograph (Fig.4.34C) suggests that, when excavated, the E wall of the Megaron was less than 0.5m high. The third fresco deposit (Locality **C** on Fig.4.34A), which was at a height of 0.30m above the Fish-fresco (35_**D.1902/I:10**), was not described as a 'stratum'.

Excavation continued towards the W commencing with the structures that lie to the S of the Queen's Megaron. To the E, these consist of an EW corridor, with two bay-like recesses on its S side, and, to the W, the S Light Well of the Megaron. Excavation started in the more easterly of the two bays (Figs. 4.34B; 4.35A), where a large quantity of 'Mycenaean' pottery heaped up against the W face of its E wall (35_**D.1902/I:10**) was discovered on 25 February, and was more or less completed two days later (36_**D.1902/I:13**). According to Evans (36_**AE.1902:27**) the pottery, which presumably was at a high level in the deposit, included sherds of stirrup vases of late style. At about the same time, excavation farther W revealed the SW corner of the S Light Well (Fig. 4.35B and see 36_**D.1902/I:13**).

As excavation proceeded, Mackenzie uncovered a step-like formation in the ashlar masonry of the S wall of the Light Well (Figs. 4.35B, 4.36B, 4.41, and see 36-7_**D.1902/I:15,** 37_**D.1902/I:22-23,** 37_**D.1902/I:26-7**) and noted that the surface of the ashlar blocks in the upper courses of the W wall was 'much broken up through the action of fire' (37_**D.1902/I:22-23**). Subsequently, he described the occurrence of a *'tough clayey deposit above the floor'* that *'yields fragments of fresco which, however, do not exist in a layer but in small bits at different levels just as in the case of the fresco deposit of the Threshing Floor Area at the N side of the Palace'.* At the same time he noticed that *'the supposed N wall was of very poor careless construction and that it did not come down to the floor level'* (37-8_**D.1902/I:31**).

In the course of the excavation of the Queen's Megaron itself, its Bathroom and the so-called Private Staircase, a variety of late structures were uncovered and subsequently removed.

1 NS wall (**1** on Fig. 4.35C). First reported 3 March (38_**D.1902/I:20**), dismantled 4-5 March (38_**D.1902/I:24**).

2. Wall over E balustrade of the Bathroom (**2** on Fig. 4.37). First reported 10 March (39_**D.1902/I:29**); ? removed 11 March (39-40_**D.1902/I:30-31**) .

3. Plaster pit or possible kiln in Bathroom (**3** on Fig. 4.37). First reported 11 March (39-40_**D.1902/I:30-1**); removed 11-17 March (39-40_**D.1902/I:30-1**; 40_**D.1902/I:34**).
4. Plaster pit in W bay on S side of S Corridor (**2** on Fig. 4.38). First mentioned 19 March (41_**D.1902/I:40**); removed 19 March (41_**D.1902/I:40**).
5. S wall of Megaron (**8** on Fig. 4.37). First reported 11 March (39-40_**D.1902/I:30-1**); removed 14-17 March (38_**D.1902/I:32**; 40-41_**D.1902/I:34-5**).
6. Blocking structure in double door in N wall (**13** on Fig. 4.42). First reported 20 March (41_**D.1902/I:40**); removed 20 March (41_**D.1902/I:40**).

To these must be added a floor with its makeup deposit at a height of 0.65-0.70m above the paved floor visible at present in the S Light Well. The presence of such a floor is inferred from Mackenzie's remarks on the manner in which the fresco fragments were dispersed through the *'tough clayey deposit'* in the Light Well, rather than being confined to a stratum, as was the case in other nearby occurrences of fresco. Indeed, Mackenzie is describing a criterion whereby fill material, such as that in the 'Threshing Floor' area, which contained fragments of the Fresco of the Spiral Cornice, can be recognised. Furthermore, the fact the N wall of the Light Well did not reach down to the paved floor means that it must have been founded in a pre-existing deposit. The existence of the floor, unrecognised by the excavators, is confirmed by fact that the ashlar masonry of the S and W walls of the Light well is scorched only above a horizontal line at a height of about 0.65-0.70m (Fig. 4.40).

Further scorching is visible on the limestone blocks of the high-level stepback in the S wall of the Light Well (Fig. 4.41). The base of the scorching, marked by a dark line, descends towards the north, apparently defining the irregular surface of a deposit of some kind. It is suggested that this consists of material which lodged on the step when the builders threw down the clayey earth with which they constructed the new, high-level floor in the light well below. Mackenzie was aware that the masonry in the Light Well had been subjected to the action of fire (e.g. 36_**D.1902/I:13**). However, it is possible that the scorchmarks now visible were not clearly defined at the time of excavation but have since been emphasised by weathering. The masonry below the scorched zones in the Light Well and in the stepback does not show any sign of having been burnt.

The finds and the dating of the structures

The only evidence for dating the conversion of the bathroom into a *'receptacle for lime'* (39-40_**D.1902/I:30-1**) *'by late Mycenaeans'* (40_**AE.1902:40**) consists of a pithos, found filled with lime in the entrance to the bath chamber and said to be of late date. The 'kiln' or plaster pit, in the more westerly of the two bays in the corridor S of the Megaron, contained *'a number of plain cups and vases all late Mycenaean'* (40_**AE.1902:40** and see Evans, 1930, 356). However, the exact context of none of the pottery is known. It is tempting to correlate the structures in the Queen's Megaron with the

plaster pits excavated by Momigliano and Hood (1994) in the South Front of the Palace. These were infilled with deposit that contained sherds, some of which were possibly of LM II/IIIA date. It is perhaps significant that after the fire of LM III A, burnt gypsum wall linings were replaced by plaster. The structures associated with the production of plaster may therefore date to the earlier phase - RP1 - of the 'Re-occupation Period'.

The rubble construction built over the E balustrade of the bathroom may also belong to this phase. There is no pottery that directly relates to the late construction but built into its base were a number of Linear B tablets. These are probably the tablets and fragments numbered 1530-39. All those of known location that are classifiable belong to the Ga class and comprise the total output of scribe 221 other than a number of unlocated fragments and tablet Og 1527. Attribution of this tablet to scribe 221 is doubtful, as is its location in the Corridor of the Sword Tablets, and the assemblage as a whole cannot be linked through its scribe with either of the main archives (see Chapter 7) and could belong to either. It is in any case unlikely that the tablets were baked prior to the LM III A2 fire.

The only secure information regarding the date of the blocking structure that prevented access to the Private Staircase is pottery of the LM I period that was recovered by tests carried out in 1913 beneath the gypsum slabs that floor the Megaron (cf. Evans, 1930, 366-7). However, pottery in Boxes 1289-91, which, according to the label, was obtained from 'the top of the staircase' in 1929, includes many sherds of LM III B date (Popham, 1970, 29). By 1929, the only possible source of material of this late date would seem to have been the makeup deposit that supported the steps. If the samples are correctly located they provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of at least the upper part of the staircase, a point made by Palmer (1965, 245) and, obviously, for the later blocking structure. The staircase may therefore have been built or repaired in the RP1 phase and blocked during RP2.

That Mackenzie considered that the reconstructed Queen's Megaron was in use in the re-occupation period is clear from his description of vessels, accepted by Popham (1970, note 25) as being of LM III B date, that were found in the deposit that covered its floor (39_**D.1902/I:27**). The two stirrup jars seen in an early photograph, here reproduced as Fig. 4.45 (*see* Popham, 1970, pl. 28e), clearly are at a level higher than that of the surface of the postulated earth floor and presumably have as their context the final destruction deposit [1]. Other pottery, from the 'Area of Fish Fresco' (Boxes 1279-81), was described by Popham (1970, 28) as 'mostly scrappy and mixed in date'. The sherds mainly belong to the LM III A and B periods. The precise stratigraphical context of the pottery is unknown but its scrappy character is appropriate for it being from a makeup deposit, perhaps that of the late earth floor. The floor itself was almost certainly in use at the time of the final fire in LM III B.

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[1] According to Warren (1989, 33) the stirrup jars are of LM III A date.

Discussion

At 0.65-70m, the height of the floor inferred from the scorchmarks in the S Light Well is comparable to that given for the fish fresco 'stratum'. If the fragments of fresco were used to consolidate the floor this could explain why two separate frescoes are represented. That fragments of fresco were salvaged, presumably for reuse in some way, is known from excavations in the House of Frescoes (Evans, 1928, 444-5). The possibility can be ruled out that the fragments of the fish fresco had fallen from a wall of the Megaron and been incorporated in the basal part of a destruction deposit that lay on the floor. The fresco fragments lay S of the limits of the Megaron as modified by the construction of the late S wall and in any case, from their position, the deposit that contained them must date to the Reoccupation Period. It is reasonable to assume that the earth floor in the S Light Well extended into the area to the E where it may have incorporated the layer of plaster with fragments of fresco embedded in it (Locality **A** on Fig. 34A). The fact that fragments of a wooden column survived still in place '*above column base 4'* (34-5_**D.1902/I:05**) suggests that its lower part was enclosed within the makeup deposit of the late floor.

The late floor, which clearly was in use at the time of the final conflagration, serves to divide the late structures into two series. Thus, some of the structures must predate the floor as they lay partly or entirely beneath its level and rested directly upon the earlier paved floor. These consist of the 'plaster pits' in the Bathroom of the Queen's Megaron (3)[1] and the more westerly of the two bays on the S side of the corridor to the S of it (4), as well as the blocking structure in the double doorway in the N wall of the Megaron (6). As the doorway had previously been modified by the insertion of a supporting pier behind the central doorjamb (Evans, 1930, 354; figs. 233; 234), this had the effect of completely denying access to the so-called Private Staircase to N (**104** on Fig. 4.43). The top of the E balustrade of the Bathroom is at a height of 0.85m above the gypsum pavement, somewhat above the level of the new earth floor. The date of the structure (2) that was built over it is therefore uncertain but as it may have been associated with the conversion of the bathroom for use as a plaster pit, it has been included in the earlier series. The rubble-built S wall (5) of the Megaron did not reach down to the paved floor and must be later than or contemporaneous with the earth floor. The evidence is lacking but the rough NS wall (1) that formed the E wall of the later Megaron may well be of the same date as wall (5).

The structures of the early series are here assigned to the RP1 phase of the Reoccupation Period; the earth floor and the structures associated with it to the RP2 phase. The late structures are illustrated on Figures 4.43 and 4.44.

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[1] According to the list given on p. 79.

Rooms to W of the Queen's Megaron.

Excavation of the series of small rooms in the W part of the Queen's Megaron area (Fig. 4.33) commenced in 1901 and was completed in 1902. Information that relates directly to the present study comes only from the Service Staircase, the room called the 'Lair' and the Room of the W Seat (Appendix 2).

There are minor discrepancies between the descriptions of the Service Staircase by Mackenzie in his Daybook of 1902 and Evans in the BSA Report for the same year. Mackenzie notes only the presence of *'a sort of clay floor level'* (42_**D.1902/II:16**) upon which rested a number of late vessels. The earth floor, at a height about 0.60m above that of the paved floor in adjoining rooms, apparently continued the full length of the narrow space beneath the upper, southern flight of the staircase. Beneath the earth floor at the W end of the passage, which was blocked at its E end by a low wall, was a layer packed with cups of mature 'Mycenaean' style.

According to Evans (1902, 70 and pl. 1; 1930, fig. 249), the deposit with mature 'Mycenaean' pottery was only 0.30m thick and rested upon a second deposit. This contained fragments of ivory figures and gold leaf (cf. 42-43_**D.1902/II:22**) and part of a crystal bowl that joined with a fragment recovered from a deposit of similar character in a nearby room called the Lair. In this room, the upper surface of the deposit, at a height of 33cm, was stated by Evans (1902, 68) to be a floor of stamped earth. Thus the deposit with ivory fragments was probably a makeup. To the surprise of the excavators, no paved floor was found beneath it and it may be presumed that this had been robbed of its slabs for reuse elsewhere. The deposit with mature 'Mycenaean' pottery apparently extended at ground floor level into Room of the W Seat and the adjoining Court of the Distaffs. Here according to Evans (1902, 66), deposit with 'abundant remains of rough Mycenaean pots - many of them with octopuses painted on them - belonging to the Period of Re-occupation' rested on a deposit in which were found 'pieces of better Palace fabric'.

No details are available regarding the deposit that formed the underfill of the northern flight of the stair in what had been initially named the Passage of the Demon Seals. Presumably the deposit was unstratified. Deposit above the level of the stair contained the seals for which the passage was named. The relevant information is summarised on Fig. 4.46D. In fact, the restriction of the seals in the Passage of the Demon Seals to levels above the line connecting the bases of stair blocks 15 and 16 (Fig. 4.46D and see 42_**D.1902/II:16**) would tend to suggest that the passage contained the upper flight of the stair rather than the lower, as suggested by Evans. The deposits and pottery associated with the Wooden Staircase were discussed by Palmer (1963a, 132-3) who emphasised that the demon seals occurred above a floor from beneath which LM III sherds were recovered. He used the evidence

to support his argument that occupancy of the Domestic Quarter was terminated at the end of LM III when fire destroyed the palace and baked all the Linear B tablets.

As far as the present study is concerned the most interesting feature of the small rooms closest to the W retaining wall of the Domestic Quarters is that the paving slabs of their upper storey floors have survived with only minor subsidence (43_**D.1901/II:55-6**). Neither Mackenzie nor Evans discussed the question of how deposit made its way into the ground floor rooms. It is suggested here that, as in the case of the Hall of the Double Axes area, various rooms, including the Room of the W Seat and the compartment that contains the Wooden Staircase, were packed with deposit to prevent the collapse of walls and to support the upper storey.

Discussion

Popham (1970, 22-6) discussed a sample of pottery that was described by Mackenzie in his Pottery Notebooks (**PNB I: 66-7**) as being from the Passage of the Demon Seals. The sherds are probably now contained in Box 1254 in the Stratigraphic Museum. He debated whether the context of the sherds, which were consistently of LM III A style, was a filling material below the stairs, or deposit that was dumped in the compartment after the disappearance of the wooden stairs, or was destruction debris. He favoured the last of these, ruling out the possibility that the context was a fill on the grounds that joining sherds occurred in closely neighbouring areas. However, according to Popham, the pottery from Wooden Staircase area included sherds that joined with others from as far away as the SE House and the area of the NW House. Instead of ruling out the possibility that the host deposit was a fill, the extreme dispersal of the joining sherds tends rather to confirm that it was, and further suggests that it had a destruction deposit as its source.

The statements by the excavators that an earth floor at about 0.60m above the paved floor was present in the area of the Service Staircase strongly supports the inference made above that a floor had existed at a similar height in the adjoining Queen's Megaron. The exact context of the LM III A pottery in Box 1254 is not known but pottery of that age accords with what Evans and Mackenzie referred to as mature Mycenaean. There is a strong possibility therefore that the sherds in Box 1254 were recovered from the makeup deposit for the floor that lay at a height of 0.60m above the paved floor. If this were the case, they confirm that the earth floor was laid down after the destruction of the Palace by fire in the later part of the LM III A period. As in the case of the earth floor in the Queen's Megaron, it is assigned to the RP2 phase. Of the pottery associated with the ivories in the makeup deposit of the earlier floor, only a pedestalled vase of MM III B has been published (Evans, 1931, 402 and fig. 276E, and see Popham, 1970, 23). It is possible, however, that this floor was laid down during the RP1 phase. If, as suggested, the westernmost rooms in the area were packed with earth, this is likely to have occurred during the RP2 phase.

Evans had no hesitation in attributing to the Reoccupation Period the vases found in the deposit that rested upon the earth floor here attributed to the RP2 phase.

Area F. SE Palace area

In this area a complex of small rooms (Fig. 4.47) was rapidly excavated in the early part of the 1902 campaign (Fig. 4.48A-E), concurrently with the final clearing of the Hall of the Double Axes. Mackenzie's description of the structures in the area is brief but he noted the finding of tablets in what came to be called the Corridor of the Sword Tablets (**110** on Fig. 4.47). The entries in Evans' notebook are also cursory but, in his annual report on the excavation, he described the small rooms in the area and their contents in considerable detail. Thus, he noted that, in the Corridor of the Sword Tablets, the inscriptions, accompanied by some clay seals, lay at an unspecified distance 'above the floor' (Evans, 1902, 94) while on the floor was pottery that he described as 'proto-Mycenaean'. In the connecting passage that extends EW to S of the Shrine of the Double Axes (**111** on Fig. 4.47), pottery of 'good Palace Period', i.e. LM II/III A, lay on a floor that was paved with limestone slabs (Evans, 1902, 95). In both passages, a later floor had been laid at a height of some 0.25-.30m above the paved floor. It is reasonable to infer that the later floor was of earth as Evans (1902, 96) went on to say that, in the shrine, there was a 'plain stamped clay floor' on which lay pottery that included a stirrup jar of a type characteristic of the 'Period of partial occupation'. In *The Palace of Minos,* Evans (1935, 854) modified his description of the sequence in the Corridor of the Sword Tablets, stating that the tablets lay on a plaster floor, beneath which was pottery of 'mature' LM Ia date, and were separated from the succeeding deposit with Reoccupation pottery by an earth layer some 0.25m thick.

The assemblage of tablets by scribes 101, 102 and 221 who were responsible for inscriptions found in the N Front area, the Queen's Megaron and the SW Palace area (see Chapter 7). Evans (1902, 94) argued that the depiction of a leaf-shaped sword on the tablets showed that this form had been developed prior to 1400 BC, that is, prior to the destruction of his 'Last Palace'. Palmer (1965, 200), however, comparing the sword ideograms with finds from the cemetery of Zafer Papoura, argued for a later date. As the Corridor is situated against the western retaining wall of this part of the site, it, like the Hall of Double Axes area, may have been packed with fill material at a late stage.

The stair in the N part of the area, which lay partially over a small paved room to the W, and the associated plaster 'closets' are of crude construction (Fig. 4.49) and it might appear that they, like the shrine, are of late date. However, this possibility is ruled out if Evans (1902, 88; fig. 50) is correct in assigning the pottery found in the closets (Figs. 4.50, 4.51) to the earliest period of the later Palace (MM III in his terms). A test carried out beneath the stair in 1929 (Evans, 1930, 246) produced no material that was later than MM III. If Evans is correct, it means that parts of the SE Palace area were not restored after the destruction that marks the end of the LM I period.

Comment

If the LM II/III pottery mentioned by Evans above was in fact recovered from the makeup deposit of the floor at 0.25-0.30m above the paved floor in, for example, the Corridor of the Sword Tablets, this suggests that the floor is an RP1 structure. The Shrine was in use at the time of the final LM III B destruction, at the end of the RP2 phase, but there is no evidence to date its construction. The suggested packing of the Corridor of the Sword Tablets may have been carried out during the RP2 phase, like that in the Hall of the Double Axes.

East Wing - general summary

As indicated by pottery found in the Schoolroom, the Bathroom of the Queen's Megaron and the Shrine of the Double Axes, occupation of parts of the East Wing of the palace continued into the LM III B period when it was terminated by a conflagration. The excavation documents explicitly record the presence of a wide variety of structures built during the period that intervened between this fire and the earlier conflagration, late in the LM III A period, that destroyed the 'Last Palace' of Evans (Table 4.2). In addition there are structures, such as earth floors of late date, that can be inferred from the excavation documents or from the evidence of scorchmarks to have existed at the time of the later fire. These floors and the structures associated with them are referred to the RP2 phase. A series of structures, such as paved floors and plaster pits that are clearly earlier, as they are covered by the makeup deposit of the RP2 floors, but are nevertheless probably of LM III B date, are assigned to the RP1 phase.

Structures assigned to the RP1 phase are most prominent in the Domestic Quarter (Fig. 4.52). In the Hall of the Double Axes area they are considered to include a buttress of rubble and earth that blocked the Grand Staircase and, it is argued, provided the motive for the construction of the 'East Stair'. Associated with the stair was a floor of gypsum slabs at a height of about 0.30m over the paved floor of the upper EW Corridor. The new pavement probably continued into the Corridor of Bay, eliminating the need for steps down S.

In the Queen's Megaron area, a kiln in the South Light Well and a container for plaster in the bathroom pre-date the construction of the late earth floor and are assigned to the RP1 phase. The date of the superstructure over the bathroom balustrade is uncertain but it may belong to this early phase. There is documentary evidence that suggests that a floor had existed at a height of about 0.30m above the paved floor in some of the small rooms in the W part of the area, such as the 'Lair'. Floors in a similar position in relation to the present paved floor in the Corridor of the Sword Tablets and adjoining rooms in the SE Palace area may belong to the RP1 phase also. It is possible that in this area their makeup deposit contained pottery of LM II/III date.

The earth floors and associated structures of the RP2 phase are more widely distributed (Fig. 4.53). The few that were identified in the course of the excavation include earth floors in the room over the Basement of the Loom Weights and in the vicinity of the Wooden Staircase in the Queen's Megaron area. In the case of the small rooms to W of the NE Hall and in the Room of the Stone Drainheads, the evidence for a late high level floor in the excavation documents is inferential. Scorchmarks on the walls of the Corridor of Bays and the South Light Well of the Queen's Megaron constitute physical evidence that, at the time of the fire, the floor in these areas was at a level about 0.60m above the remnants of the paved floor of the 'Last Palace'. It is assumed that the floors in connecting rooms were at approximately the same level and presumably were also of earth or had been robbed of their paving slabs.

A number of structures can be specifically linked with the high level floors. These include the rubble walls that modify the small rooms attached to the NE Hall and the drainage system that originates in the Room of the Stone Drainheads. The S wall, and probably also the E wall, of the Queen's Megaron date to this period also. It is uncertain when the rubble walls in the Court of the Stone Spout were built but they may be connected with the drainage system. The blocking structures in the 'East Corridor', that yielded LM III B pottery, and the Room of Spartan Basalt are almost certainly of the RP2 phase.

The structures of both phases include some that were of a prophylactic or remedial nature. These include the buttress that blocked the Grand Staircase in the Hall of the Double Axes and the packing of the lower EW Corridor. It is considered that, subsequently, the Hall of Colonnades and most if not all of the Hall of the Double Axes were packed with earthy deposit in order to prevent the collapse of the retaining walls on their W and N sides. It is possible that this infilling was linked with the construction of the high-level earth floor in the area. Rooms in the W of the Queen's Megaron area, such as the Room of the W Seat and the Corridor of the Sword Tablets, in the SE Palace area, are considered also to have been infilled with earth to support the W retaining wall of the terrace.

Regardless of whether the Bathroom in the Queen's Megaron was modified in the RP1 or the RP2 phase, it is certain that the Linear B tablets recovered from beneath its superstructure were not baked by the fire that brought habitation of the area to a close in LM III B times. It is possible, therefore, that these tablets were indurated by the fire that destroyed the 'Last Palace' of Evans in the later part of the LM III A period. The stratigraphical context of the abundant tablets and clay sealings found in the EW Corridor area is less secure but there are grounds for believing that they were contained in fill deposits used in works of the RP1 phase and that they also are of LM III A date.

Table 4.2. Conjectured stratigraphy of late structures in the East Wing of the Palace.

NE Hall area	R. of Stone Drainheads area	Schoolroom area	Hall of Double Axes area	Queen's Megaron area	Constructional Phase
Conflagration of LM III B					
Floor ?of earth at c. 97.8m in remodelled rooms to W of Hall (c. 0.45m above present pavement); structures of Hall buried.	Earth floor at c. 97.8m. Construction of drain leading to Court of Oil Spout	?Ramp for drain in Court of the Oil Spout; 'East Corridor' blocked and Schoolroom partitioned. Remodelling of Store of the Spartan Basalt	Ground floor rooms packed with earth. Floor over upper EW Corridor raised to c. 98m.	Earth floor at c. 93.60m. S and E walls of Megaron rebuilt. ?Packing of some ground floor rooms, e. g. Room of the W Seat	'Reoccupation Period' RP2 phase (LM III B)
?	?	?	Grand Staircase blocked by rubble and earth construction. Lower EW Corridor packed with deposit containing sealings and Linear B tablets; in upper EW Corridor, floor of gypsum slabs at c. 87.5m laid on earth makeup with Linear B tablets (baulk). Construction of 'East Stairs', ascending to level of gypsum paving in upper EW Corridor	The plaster 'pits' in the Megaron and S Light Well. Blocking structure in N doorway of Megaron. ?Raising of E balustrade of the Bath Room	'Reoccupation Period' RP1 phase (LM III B)
Conflagration of LM III A2:1					

Chapter 5

THE WEST WING

Introduction

The rooms and magazines of the West Wing (Fig. 5.1) were among the earliest spaces to be excavated and were largely cleared by the end of the 1901 campaign. The 'kasellas' or cists that lay beneath the paved floor in the Long Corridor and the W Magazines were investigated in 1902-4 and W Magazines 12 and 13 were examined in detail in 1923. Several of the extensive series of sub-floor tests by Evans in 1913 were sited in the Throne Room and adjoining rooms. The area that includes the Room of the Stone Vases and the Room of the Chariot Tablets was re-examined during the campaigns of 1907, 1922 and 1923.

The structures and stratigraphy of the region have been the subject of numerous studies. The first of these, based largely on the documentary evidence, formed part of the wide-ranging studies in the palace by Palmer (1963a) and Boardman (1963) as they sought to determine the location and stratigraphical context of the Linear B tablets. An examination of the W Magazines by Hallager (1977) that combined analysis of the documentary evidence with a detailed study of the surviving architectural remains was followed by the work of Mirié (1979) on the Throne Room area. More recent studies include those of the SE area of the West Wing by Hallager (1987) and Driessen (1990a, b), and in the W Magazines by Raison (1993) and Boskamp (1997). Selected passages from the excavation documents of Mackenzie and Evans, excerpts from which are contained in the above publications, are given in Appendix 3.

The West Wing is conveniently divided into three areas. The first consists of the plexus of small rooms and connecting passages that lies to the S of the Throne Room area and constitutes the SE area of the West Wing of Driessen (1990b). The second is the Throne Room area. This comprises, in addition to the Throne Room and its Antechamber, the series of small chambers that make up the Service Area to N and W and the Cists area on the S. The last of the three areas consists of the W Magazines and the Long Corridor.

Mackenzie (1905, 183) was strongly of the opinion that in much of the West Wing, including the W Magazines area, there was no evidence that the remains of the Last Palace had ever been re-occupied. This is in stark contrast with the views of Palmer and Hallager who considered that, after the destruction of the Palace of LM II/III A date, that is, the 'Last Palace' of Evans, a new palace had

been constructed over the remains of the old. The outcome of the present study is that structures which almost certainly post-date the LM III A destruction are widely distributed in the West Wing and that the evidence for them is clearest and least ambiguous in the area of the W Magazines. Being of LM III B date, the structures are therefore of the 'Reoccupation Period' according to Evans' definition.

In their architectural quality, the new structures are only slightly inferior to those of the preceding 'Last Palace' and, in some cases, were mistakenly assigned to it by the excavators. In this account, the structures are assigned to the RP1 phase. It is considered that they were built in the period immediately following the destruction of the 'Last Palace' and incorporate debris from it in their makeup deposits. They are sufficiently widely distributed in the West Wing to provide support for the arguments of Palmer and Hallager that the Palace had been reconstituted after the LM III A destruction.

Later works of inferior quality were also present. Some of these, notably in the area that included the Room of the Chariot Tablets, were recognised by Mackenzie as belonging to the Reoccupation Period. For others, the evidence is less direct. They are here assigned to the RP2 phase. The inferred stratigraphy in the West Wing is outlined in Table 5.5.

Area A. SE area of the West Wing (Fig. 5.2)

Most of the rooms in this area were cleared at an early date and the information contained in the excavation documents is sparse (Appendix 3) and the sketches provided by Mackenzie are few and generalised. As far as this study is concerned, the most important structures are the Rooms of the Chariot Tablets and of the Stone Vases, with the adjoining Lobby of the Stone Seat (Room of the Column Bases) to the north. West of the Room of the Chariot Tablets is an EW corridor flanked on its N side by two narrow magazines. In 1907, Mackenzie re-examined the visible structures in the area, which he described as *'One of the most puzzling regions in the Palace of Knossos'* (17-18_**D.1907:79-82** and 49-50_**D.1907:83-4**), and defined two architectural phases, distinguished by colour on a sketch reproduced here as Fig. 5.3.

The first of these phases, that included rooms characterised by multiple doorways and paved floors consisting of a central panel of limestone mosaiko with a surround of rectangular gypsum slabs, was linked with an early W Facade of the Central Court that lay some 2 m W of the present facade (17_**D.1907:80**). Mackenzie dated this phase to the end of the Middle Minoan period. In the second phase, the corridor extending W from the Room of the Chariot Tablets was modified and closed off by the insertion of rubble walls that were aligned at an angle to the earlier walls. The S part of the W wall (Y on Fig. 5.3b) of the Room of Chariot Tablets was removed, as also were two of the short

flights of stairs up south. A 'bench' was set against the new, oblique W wall of the Room of the Chariot Tablets and the room was divided by an approximately EW structure identified as a 'seat'. The structures of the later phase, as depicted on Mackenzie's sketch, accord well with those visible on an early photograph (Fig. 5.4a) and on Fyfe's unpublished plan of 1900 (Fig. 5.5).

There is no evidence of excavation in the area in 1907 and it is presumed that Mackenzie's conclusions were based on a re-examination of the structures as previously exposed. However, excavations here in 1922 (Appendix 3, p. 50-1) and 1923 (Appendix 3, p. 51-5) revealed that the two narrow EW magazines to N of the corridor W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets had been constructed over structures belonging to an earlier phase (Fig. 5.6) in which two broad NS magazine-like rooms had opened N from the EW corridor. The investigation showed that the EW wall marked **Z** on Fig. 5.3b was also a late feature, being probably of the same date as the rubble 'slanting' walls that modified the EW Corridor (Fig. 5.7). Mackenzie's revised structural sequence can be summarised as follows:

1. Phase of the NS magazines
2. Phase of the EW magazines
3. Phase of the 'slanting' walls.

A problem that Mackenzie did not resolve concerns the status of an EW wall (**5** on Fig. 5.7) revealed by the excavation of 1922. The wall, which was bedded on a clay foundation and considered on that account to be early, lined up with the S wall of the more southerly of the two later EW magazines (50_**D.1922/II:59-60**) and, on Mackenzie's sketch, is shown as its continuation. The investigation of 1923, however, showed that the magazine wall terminated eastwards against a NS wall of an earlier phase - wall **A** on Fig. 5.6. On this figure, Wall **5** of Fig. 5.7 is not shown. On Mackenzie's 1922 sketch (Fig. 5.7) wall **5** appears to pass beneath the W wall of the Room of the Chariot Tablets although there is no indication that this was proved by excavation to be the case. The E wall of the room - **7** on Fig. 5.7 - was said to be a late arrangement. On the other hand, it would seem from his sketch (Fig. 5.3a) that in 1907 Mackenzie believed that the E and W walls of the Room of the Chariot Tablets were systematically connected to the multiple doorways to N and S. Wall **5** cannot be later than the walls of the NS magazines and the Room of Chariot Tablets but is earlier than them or, more probably, contemporaneous with them, as suggested on Fig. 5.9A.

As has already been discussed in Chapter 3, Mackenzie's investigations of 1907 and 1922 in this area were also aimed at determining the stratigraphical relations of the foundations of a rectangular building that lay to the S of the Room of the Chariot Tablets. The structure, that he had initially considered to be a 'Pelasgian Megaron' - 'an isolated building set up when the Palace was already a ruin in the Late Minoan III Period of partial re-occupation' (17.**1907:80**) - is illustrated on

Mackenzie's sketch of 1907 (*see* Fig. 5.3b) but not distinguished by colour. The excavations of 1907 W of the Court of the Altar revealed, within the W part of these foundations (Appendix 3, p. 49-50), the structure that he interpreted as the foundations of a bastion supporting the Grand Staircase on its E side.

Further investigations in 1922 and 1923 (Appendix 1, p. 18-21) showed that the foundations of the rectangular building cut through the bastion foundations which continued farther S where they were overlain by a NS wall that Mackenzie referred to the Reoccupation Period (20_**D.1922/II:67**). In his final reconstruction (*see* Fig. 3.19), the 'bastion foundations' appear to be related to the Court of the Altar with its multiple doorways and 'mosaiko' panelled floor and thus belonged to the first of his three phases. The NS wall of the Reoccupation Period that rested upon the 'bastion foundations' must correspond either to the phase of the oblique rubble walls - that is, to the third phase - or belong to a later, fourth phase. According to Mackenzie's revised interpretation, the 'Pelasgian Megaron' was considered to be a Hellenic Temple (18_ **D.1922/II:62**).

Driessen (1990b) re-examined the documentary evidence and the surviving remains in the area and recognised five architectural phases in the structural development of the area, as illustrated on his figures 9-13, given here on Fig. 5.8. His reconstruction differs in a number of respects from that of Mackenzie. Thus, according to Driessen's first phase (Fig. 5.8A), the corridor flanking on the W the NS magazines of Mackenzie's first phase was blocked at its N end at **A**, whereas Fig. 5.6 shows it as open. Also, in his second phase (Fig. 5.8B), Driessen shows the more southerly of the EW magazines as open at its E end although on Figs. 5.5 and 5.6 it is closed. Also, wall **5** of Fig. 5.7 (=**A** on Fig. 5.8B) is shown as being of the same build as the EW magazine walls - a correlation that Mackenzie ruled out.

The Court of the Altar, with its multiple N doorways, is not depicted as such in any of Driessen's reconstructions although Mackenzie related this room and the Lobby of the Stone Seat to the earlier W Facade of the Central Court. Furthermore, as noted above, Mackenzie's investigations of 1907 and 1922 suggest a relationship of the Court of the Altar with the 'bastion foundations' that flanked it on the W. However, the foundations do not appear until Driessen's third phase (Fig. 5.8C) in which the 'slanting' walls were constructed. Driessen assigned the construction of the rectangular building ('Pelasgian Megaron') to his fourth phase. However, there are early photographs that suggest that its N foundation formed part of the EW structure that, in his *third* phase, blocked the stairway system at the S end of the Room of the Chariot Tablets. The relationship of the rectangular building with the 'slanting' walls in the EW corridor and the S part of the Room of the Chariot Tablets will be discussed later in this chapter. Driessen's argument that, in his fourth and fifth phases, the doorways accessing the Rooms of the Chariot Tablets and of the Stone Vases from the N

had been blocked and that these rooms had been infilled and abandoned was strongly challenged by Popham (1993). Driessen's treatment of the Room of the Clay Bath, some walls of which he surmised might be Greek (Fig. 5.8E), has already been discussed in Chapter 3.

The difficulties of reconstructing the stratigraphy are compounded by the virtually total absence of ceramic evidence. Most of the area was cleared in 1900 when little pottery was recorded and almost none retained. The later investigations of 1907 and 1922 are represented only by the few non-diagnostic sherds, recovered in 1907 from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, that are contained in Box 766 in the Stratigraphical Museum. Consequently, Driessen was able to suggest only a tentative dating of his architectural phases. Popham (1993), unconvinced by Driessen's use of certain of the original data, was critical of his proposed dating, especially that of the assemblage of Linear B tablets recovered from the Room of the Chariot Tablets which Driessen assigned to the LM II period.

The present attempt to reconstruct the structural development of the area follows the pattern set by Driessen and involves a detailed examination of the surviving documentary and physical evidence. Particular emphasis has been placed here on identifying and correlating the successive floors on the basis of their composition and the sparse information on their heights provided by the excavation documents in the hope of establishing a stratigraphical framework in which to place the structural phases.

Floor levels and deposits

As was usual in the early campaigns, the heights of floors was related only to the pre-excavation land surface but some information is available on the unpublished plan of Fyfe (Fig. 5.5). In general, the relations between floors and the walls of the rooms that contained them were not determined during the excavation. However, the early excavations were supplemented in 1923 by tests beneath the floors of the EW magazines that lie to W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets. These floors, at about 100.80m as indicated by levels in the Corridor of the House Tablets alongside (sketch plan of Fyfe on Fig. 5.5, and see plan of Hood and Taylor, 1981), were partly paved with reused gypsum slabs (53-54_**D.1923/I:31L**).

The tests of 1923 were aimed at tracing a series of NS walls that Mackenzie suspected lay beneath the walls of the EW magazines. At an unstated depth in the first test, halfway along the more southerly magazine, the hoped-for foundations of such a wall were encountered.

1. Deposit
2. Rubble stones in a clay mortar matrix - 0.10m thick
3. 'Kouskouras' - 0.32m thick

The sequence proved by excavations carried out in two stages at the mid-point of the more northerly of the EW magazines was different. Here, the foundations of the early NS wall were covered by a pavement of burnt gypsum slabs at a depth of about 0.07-0.08m below the floor of the magazine (*see* Fig. 5.6).

1. Floor of reused slabs
2. Hard red cement-like earth - 0.07-.08m thick
3. Gypsum paving, very black
4. Rubble stones in a mortar matrix - 0.17m thick
5. 'Kouskouras' - 0.35m thick
6. Black earth

Excavation at the W end of the magazine (54_ **D.1923/I:31**) revealed a more complicated arrangement (*see* Fig. 5.6).

North — South (right side when facing E)

1. Floor of reused slabs
2. Buff clay mortar with stones 0.20-25m thick
3. Deposit
4. Gypsum paving - very much burnt
5. Red clay, blackened at top - 0.10m thick
6. 'Kouskouras' packing with stones - 0.25m thick

In a test beneath a slab of the gypsum pavement at the W end of the south magazine, the clay mortar foundations were overlain by a 0.10 - 0.15m thick layer of compact red earth.

The evidence from the tests confirmed Mackenzie's suspicion that the EW magazines covered earlier walls that extended N from the antae supporting the N wall of the passage to S of the magazines. The height at which the top of the clay mortar foundations was preserved varies in the tests. However, it is reasonable to assume that originally the foundations were everywhere of the same general height, at or above the level of the highest surviving occurrence in the tests, and were cut away in places to accommodate later structures. The highest reported foundation material lay immediately beneath the gypsum pavement that, close to the doorway of the more southerly magazine, was at a height of 100.80m. The base of walls constructed upon the foundations can therefore be taken to have been at or somewhat above the level of the floor. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the foundations of the eastern anta in the EW passage were exposed when its lowest block was displaced (51_**D.1923/I:26R**). The floor that was related to the early NS magazines must therefore have been at a level somewhat above that of the base of the walls, that is, somewhat above a height of 100.80m. This was significantly higher than the floor level in the area to the N that includes the E and W Pillar Rooms and Corridor 7 on Fig. 5.9A was probably blocked at this time, as was suggested by Driessen (*see* Fig. 5.8A).

Modification of the magazines was carried out in two stages. In the first, the northern parts of the E and W walls of the more westerly of the magazines were cut away and, in the breaches, their foundations were lowered to accommodate a narrow magazine-like space with a floor of gypsum slabs (Fig. 5.9B). Unfortunately, Mackenzie did not explicitly state the height of this in relation to the later pavement. However, a layer of compact red earth up to 0.10m thick rested upon the lower pavement and, allowing 0.05m for the thickness of the slabs of the upper pavement, its top can have been at a height no greater than 100.67m. The slabs of the lower pavement were described as burnt. Its makeup deposit, consisting of red clay up to 0.10m thick, was blackened in its upper part, and it is clear that Mackenzie considered that the slabs of the pavement had been burned *in situ*. The new floor was similar in height to the newly laid 'mosaiko' floor in the Lobby of the Stone Seat. It is suggested that the new EW magazine was an addition to the complex that included the Lobby and the Pillar Rooms and that the blocking structure at the N end of corridor **7** (Fig. 5.9B) was removed at this time, as Driessen (1990b) also proposed (*see* Fig. 5.8B). There may have been access to the Long Corridor where the earlier of two floors ~~in the~~, according to a spot height on a threshold slab of a doorway in a crosswall near its S end, was at a height of 100.69m.

There is no direct evidence regarding the level of the floors in the S part of the magazines area at this time. However, Mackenzie's investigations of 1923 showed that the S part of the E wall of the more easterly of the original NS magazines was a late construction and it is possible that the wall was breached to allow access to the Room of the Stone Vases (cf. Driessen, 1990b, fig. 11). The floor level in the S part of the magazines area may thus have been similar to that in the Room of the Stone Vases on which the stone vessels lay. This was at a height of 100.85-7m according to the sketch plan of Fyfe (*see* Fig. 5.5), 0.20m higher than that of the 'mosaiko' panelled floor in the Lobby of the Stone Seat (50_ **D.1922/II:59-60**). The discrepancy in height between the floors in the Lobby of the Stone Seat and the Room of the Stone Vases suggests that there was no direct access between the two rooms at this time (*see* Fig. 5.9B).

In the second stage, the walls of the truncated NS magazines were further breached and a second EW magazine was constructed alongside the earlier one on its S side (Fig. 5.9C). The breach in the E wall of the magazine system was repaired at this time and a new floor laid throughout the area of the magazines and the adjoining passageways. These floors, still visible at present, were constructed reusing gypsum slabs, over a makeup deposit of compact red earth up to 0.14m thick. A possible source of the slabs is the wall linings in the nearby W Magazines which, according to Hallager (1977), were stripped away in the period following the conflagration of LM III A date. At a height of about 100.80m, this floor was at a lower level than the floors of the phase of the early NS magazines. A similar situation exists in the W Magazines where the plinth course of the W walls of the magazines stands entirely above the present pavement level and the related floors must have been at

a higher level than the highest floors visible at present (see below). The sequence in the area W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets, with the heights of the floors of the phases, can be summarised as follows.

1. Early NS magazines, probably paved floor — above 100.80m
2. Insertion of northern EW magazine, paved with gypsum slabs - burnt — c. 100.67m
   (floor of truncated NS magazines and Room of Stone Vases possibly at c. 100.87)
   Deposit, red clay, blackened at top
3. Completion of EW magazine system, paved with reused gypsum slabs — c. 100.80m
   Deposit, red earth

Conveniently, the three phases are termed RCT.1-3 in descending order.

In the Lobby of the Stone Seat, the excavation of 1900 revealed a floor of a distinctive nature, consisting of a 'mosaiko' panel, made up of irregular slabs of fine-grained metamorphic limestone, with a surround of quadrate gypsum slabs. The height of the floor, from a measurement taken on a slab near the easternmost of the doorways in its S wall[1], is at a height of about 100.67m. From the placement of the panel in relation to the walls of the Lobby, Mackenzie inferred that the pavement had been laid down when the W Facade of the Central Court was about 2m W of its present position (49-50_**D.1907:83-4**). It would seem, however, that Mackenzie was mistaken. The position of the early W Facade is marked by a series of large limestone slabs aligned NS at a distance of about 1.50m E of the 'mosaiko' panel. The surface of these slabs, one of which has the appearance of a jamb cut down to lie beneath a later floor (Fig. 5.10a), is a little below the level of the 'mosaiko' pavement. The slabs of the 'mosaiko' pavement when complete would have covered the remains of the early facade which must therefore relate to an earlier, lower floor. Driessen (1990b, 69) commented that in the Room of the Great Pithos, to N of the Lobby, the 'mosaiko' pavement could be detected beneath a gypsum paving. However, according to the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981), the surface of the threshold in the doorway opening N from the Room of the Great Pithos is shown as being at a height of 100.68m, similar to that of the 'mosaiko' floor. It would appear, therefore, that any paving at this height in the Room of the Giant Pithos must correspond to the 'mosaiko' pavement of the Lobby of the Stone Seat.

It is evident that the systems of doorways to S and N of the Lobby of the Stone Seat were not directly connected with the 'mosaiko' floor but with an earlier floor some 0.10-0.12m lower, at a height of about 100.55-7m. Thus, Mackenzie's comment that the jambs of the S entrance to the Lobby of the Stone Seat '*were hardly above the floor level of the room*' (48-49_**D.07.05.1900**) suggests that he considered the floor to be at an inappropriately high level. He thereby implies that an earlier floor

[1] W. Taylor, *personal communication.*

was present, at a level below that of the floor with 'mosaiko' panel. The upper parts of the jambs of the N partition are visible above the slabs of the gypsum-slabbed surround (Fig. 5.10b). In the Court of the Altar, as Driessen (1990b, 92) noted, the 'mosaiko' panel was about 0.14m higher than the level of the slab between the western pair of doorjambs (see Fyfe's sketch, Fig. 3.17). Thus, here also, the multiple doorway system was earlier than the 'mosaiko' floor. There has been no systematic investigation of the early floors in the Lobby of the Stone Seat and the Court of the Altar. Possibly these rooms had an earlier floor with a 'mosaiko' panel that was symmetrically placed in relation to the early W Facade of the Central Court and influenced the positioning of its successor. The remains of an earlier panel may survive but it is equally likely that its slabs were robbed for reuse.

According to Evans (1904, 28), in the small chamber to N of the Lobby and E of the Temple Repositories there was a floor 'of small limestone slabs' at a height of 0.15m below the level the paving in the adjacent Central Court which, from the levels on the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981), can be estimated to be at a height of about 101.50m. It is possible therefore that the present floor in the chamber east of the Temple Repositories, which, according to the same plan, is at a height of 101.36m, is an original feature. The pavement of the Central Court was presumably also raised at this time to a level that matched that of the Lobby floor. The full sequence of floors, visible and inferred, in the Lobby is as follows.

Possible floor (?=RCT.3)	c. 101.35
Floor with 'mosaiko' panel (?=RCT.2)	c. 100.67m
Floor, paved (?=RCT.1)	100.55-7m

A correlation is proposed of the floor in the Lobby of the Stone Seat at a height of 100.67m with that at a similar level in the more northerly of the EW magazines W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets. The important assemblage of Linear B inscriptions known as the 'oil' tablets was contained in the deposit that lay between the RCT.2 and the RCT.3 floors.

The floor in the E Pillar Room (**4** on Fig. 5.9A) is at a height of 100.55m, according to the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981), and probably correlates with the lowest floor in the adjoining Lobby. The lower parts of 4 pithoi were found still in position on the floor at the time of excavation in 1900[1]. Presumably their upper parts had been cut away when a new floor was laid over them. The oldest floors, belonging to the RCT.1 phase, in the Lobby of the Stone Seat and the Pillar Rooms were almost 0.40m lower than their proposed equivalents in the area W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets. It has been suggested above that, at this time, there was no connection between the two areas.

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[1] *There were altogether 10 pithoi in the room. The lower parts of 4 are still in position.* **D.28.04.1900.**

Only sparse information is available on the floor levels in the Room of the Stone Vases and the Room of the Chariot Tablets, localities of great importance because of their finds. Of the former, the excavation documents indicated only that the deposit with stone vases, which was said to be about 0.50m thick, lay on a floor that was 2.40m below the pre-excavation ground surface. However, Fyfe's unpublished plan (Fig. 5.5) gives a height for the floor of 100.85m. Subsequently, in his account of the 1922 investigation, Mackenzie described the floor as being of 'very much patched' gypsum paving (50_**D.1922:59-60**) at a level 0.20m higher than the thresholds of the Lobby of the Stone Seat. This gives a height for the floor of 100.87m that is in good agreement with the height on Fyfe's plan. It has been suggested above that when this floor was in use, the only access to the Room of the Stone Vases was from the magazines area to the W.

The only floor recognised in the Room of the Chariot Tablets during the excavation of 1900 was that upon which the deposit with Linear B tablets lay. The floor was said by Evans to be of 'indurated earth' (46_**AE.1900:27**) but later described as being of cement (Evans, 1900, 54), although an early photograph (Fig. 5.4a) suggests that it was partly paved. According to Fyfe (*see* Fig. 5.5), the floor lay at a depth of 0.96m below the level of the 'mosaiko' panel in the adjoining Court of the Altar and initially was adopted by him as his datum when surveying the West Wing. Its height is recalculated at 101.08m, when referred to the datum used by Hood and Taylor (1981) on their plan of the palace. That the floor was used as a datum strongly suggests that no excavation had been carried out beneath it after the deposit with tablets was removed. It was at a higher level than any of the several floors in the remainder of the area and must have been connected with them by flights of steps. Which of these floors corresponds to that on which the deposit with the 'chariot' tablets lay cannot be determined on the basis of levels alone.

The possibility that a higher, later floor had been present in at least the S part the Room of the Chariot Tablets is suggested by the evidence of the jambs and threshold of a doorway in the SE corner of the room (*see* Fig. 5.4a). According to the unpublished plan of Fyfe (*see* Fig. 5.5), the threshold slab was at a height of 101.33m when referred to the datum of Hood and Taylor (1981). The floor was not mentioned at the time of the excavation but part of the present floor as reconstructed by Evans (Fig. 5.11) is at this height[1]. The excavation documents give no indication of the height of the 'seat' that divides the Room of the Chariot Tablets or of the 'bench' constructed against its SW wall. However, from an early photograph (Fig. 5.12) it is evident that the tops of these structures were at a similar height of 0.25 - 0.30m above the floor on which the tablets deposit had rested. As this floor was at a height of about 101.08m, the tops of the two structures must have been

[1] The spot height of 100.33 in the S part of the room on the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981) is an error for 101.33. (William Taylor, *personal communication*).

at a level comparable to that of the threshold of the SE doorway and of the floor that presumably was connected with it. This raises the possibility that the 'seat' and the 'bench' were actually foundation structures for walls that enclosed a small chamber in the S part of the Room of the Chariot Tablets.

The heights of the floors in the area and their suggested correlations are summarised on Fig. 5.13. It is evident that floors of the same phase are not everywhere at the same height and either they were connected by steps or some parts of the area were isolated from others by the blocking of doorways. There is, however, no information on the positioning of the postulated steps or blocking structures and detailed reconstruction of the architecture of the phases is not possible. The proposed correlation reflects the excavators' conviction that the deposit that contained the 'chariot' tablets and the stone vases were contemporaneous.

The construction phases

The indifferent quality of the evidence and the lack of pottery means that any attempt to reconstruct the structural history of the area is speculative. Four building phases are recognised. The first three of these broadly conform to those of Mackenzie although with some important differences - notably the place in the sequence occupied by the 'Pelasgian Megaron'. The layouts of the rooms during the first three phases are given on Fig. 5.9A-C. The data that relate to the structures of a fourth phase are insufficient to allow reconstruction of the area.

RCT.1 phase

The available data indicate that in its earliest arrangement, as given on Fig. 5.9A, the Room of the Chariot Tablets was systematically connected by way of pier-and-door partitions with the Court of the Altar to the S and the Lobby of the Stone Seat to the north. A further pier-and-door partition connected the Lobby of the Stone Seat with the rooms to the north - the Room of the Great Pithos and the Temple Repositories. In the E part of the Lobby, a line of large limestone blocks trending NS marks the position of the early W Facade of the Central Court (Fig. 5.3). One of the blocks is a doorjamb that has been cut down in order to pass beneath the floor of a later phase (Fig. 5.10a). Apparently, therefore, in the RCT.1 phase, the Lobby was connected with the Central Court by means of a multiple doorway system. To the W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets was an EW corridor with two magazines opening off its N side.

The arrangement of rooms accords with Mackenzie's reconstruction of the architecture of the area in his first phase (*see* Fig. 5.3a) and is generally similar to that of the First Architectural Phase of Driessen (1990b, Fig. 5.8A). The most significant variation from Mackenzie's reconstruction proposed here concerns the foundations that were interpreted by him as belonging to a 'bastion' that formed the E support of a stairway that ascended N to the upper storey. Instead, it is suggested that

they are the foundations of a broad shallow stairway that ascended *eastwards* to a system of multiple doorways forming the W side of the Court of the Altar[1]. Driessen (1990b, 92) expressed doubts regarding the excavators' interpretation of the foundations but did not suggest an alternative. He assigned them to his third architectural phase - the phase of the 'slanting walls'. Driessen's correlation is ruled out on the grounds that the structures of this phase were encountered near to the surface in the earliest excavations whereas the 'bastion' foundations were discovered at depth during a later investigation and were cut or overlain by structures belonging to two distinct later phases.

According to Mackenzie, the walls of the early phase had carefully prepared foundations consisting of a layer with fragments of 'kouskouras' on which was laid a deposit of stones set in clay mortar (51_**D.1923/I:27R**). However, he supplied no information regarding the foundations of the NS dividing walls of the Room of the Chariot Tablets that he initially included in his reconstruction of the room in its earliest configuration (Fig. 5.3a). Subsequently, Mackenzie changed his opinion and on a later sketch (Fig. 5.7), that accompanied his account of the 1922 investigation, the dividing walls carry a different ornament from the walls of the early phase. On this sketch, the W dividing wall is shown apparently overlying an EW wall of an earlier period and Mackenzie commented in his Daybook that the eastern dividing wall appeared to be a late arrangement (*see* 18_**D.1922/II:60**). The date of these walls is thus uncertain and Driessen (1990b, *see* Fig. 5.8A) excluded them from his first phase. The layout suggested here is one of several that might explain the difference in height between the floors in the EW magazines area and the area to the N that includes the Lobby of the Stone Seat.

In the RCT.1 phase, the rooms in the E part of the area, with their multiple doorways, were arranged in a manner that emphasised communication. It is suggested that they formed the N part of an elaborate ceremonial route that commenced at the West Portico, passed along the Procession Corridor and through the South Propylaeum and the Court of the Altar to reach the Central Court.

RCT.2 phase

In this phase, a number of important modifications were carried out (Fig. 5.9B). As Mackenzie discovered through his excavations of 1923 (Appendix 3, p. 50-54), the NS magazines in the area W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets were modified. Driessen (1990b) suggested that, in his second phase, the NS walls were entirely removed and EW walls inserted, creating a narrow, gypsum paved magazine in the N that was flanked by a broad passageway on the S (*see* Fig. 5.8B). The evidence from Mackenzie's tests confirms that the modification of the Magazines was carried out two stages, starting with the construction of the more northerly of the two EW magazines. Here, however, it is

[1] See Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion.

considered that, although truncated by the insertion of the more northerly EW magazine, with a floor at a height of about 100.67m, the NS magazines survived but the E wall of the more easterly of them was breached to provide direct access to the Room of the Stone Vases. The work was completed in the next phase.

In the Room of the Chariot Tablets all but the westernmost of the short flights of stairs that ascended S to the Court of the Altar were removed and it may be presumed that the corresponding doorways were blocked at the same time. This work must have been carried out before access to the Court was cut off by the insertion of the foundations of the so-called 'Pelasgian Megaron' that can be seen on an early photograph (*see* Fig. 5.4a). A new floor was laid down in the Court that consisted of a 'mosaiko' panel with a surround of rectangular gypsum slabs. The floor was about 0.14m higher than the top of the uppermost step of the surviving flight of stairs from the Room of the Chariot Tablets (Driessen, 1990b, 92).

In the Lobby of the Stone Seat a new floor of similar design was laid down at a level of c. 100.67m, covering the remains of the early W Facade of the Central Court on the E and partially concealing the jambs of the pier-and-door partitions on the N and S sides. Mackenzie (49-50_**D.1907:83-4**) believed that the positioning of the 'mosaiko' panel indicated that it was set in place at a time when the W Facade of the Central Court lay some 2m W of its present position but he must be mistaken. Probably at the same time as the floor was constructed, all except the most westerly of the doorways in the partition on the N side of the Lobby of the Stone Seat were blocked with rubble walls that consist mainly of pieces of gypsum slabs (Fig. 5.10b). The more easterly of the doorjambs of the *polythyron* can still be seen emerging from beneath the blocking structures that Driessen (1990b, 69 and fig. 10) assigned to his second architectural phase. The stone bench or seat for which the Lobby is named is set against the structures that block the northern doorways and was constructed directly upon the slabs of the gypsum surround of the 'mosaiko'-panelled floor (Fig. 5.10b), which it evidently post-dates. In its design, the bench resembles those in the Throne Room (see below) but is of cruder construction. Its top, about 2.9m long, is made up of two 0.1m thick slabs of gypsum.

In the E part of the Lobby there is a second bench-like structure, about 0.40 high, its top consisting of a gypsum slab about 1.80m long and 0.48m wide on average. It bears a general resemblance to the bench against the N wall of the Lobby but its much-restored base appears to be of rubble masonry rather than of gypsum slabs. The structure lies along the N side of a flight consisting at present of six steps that ascends eastwards to the Central Court (Fig. 5.10a).

In marked contrast to the previous phase, in the RCT.2 phase individual rooms with restricted access were created in the E part of the area and it is apparent that the function served by this part of the

West Wing had been radically altered. In keeping with this, it is suggested on Fig. 5.9B that the Court of the Altar was closed off on its W side by a new wall.

RCT.3 phase

In this phase, the areas most affected by new construction were the Room of the Chariot Tablets and the passage that extends westwards from it (Fig. 5.9C). The new structures included a number of 'slanting' walls of rubble masonry as can be seen on Mackenzie's sketch (Fig. 5.14) and an early photograph (Fig. 5.4). In 1907 Mackenzie delineated the late structures, coloured red on his sketch (Fig. 5.3), with greater precision. In the course of further investigations in 1922, described in some detail by Mackenzie in his Daybooks (Appendix 3), most of these structures were removed. His sketch of 1922 (Fig. 5.6) showed that the early S wall of the EW corridor had been cut away at its E end and replaced by an ESE-trending wall that he named the 'Late Slanting Terrace Wall'. The early photograph (Fig. 5.4a) appears to show this merging with the line of ashlar blocks that makes up the N foundation of the structure known as the 'rectangular building' or 'Pelasgian Megaron' to form the S wall of the Room of the Chariot Tablets. The published plan of Evans (1901, pl. I) and Fyfe's unpublished plan (Fig. 5.5) both show this as a single, very thick wall with a doorjamb set against its N side. On the early photograph (Fig. 5.4a), the blocks forming the N side of this wall are seen to fit closely against the irregular N face of the line of ashlar blocks that makes up its S side. This suggests that the large blocks of the foundation structure were already in place when the smaller blocks of the rubble-built 'slanting' wall were set against them. It is possible that the N foundations of the 'megaron' belong to an entirely separate architectural phase that was earlier than that of the 'Late Slanting Terrace Wall'. However, it is simpler to conclude that the foundations and the slanting Terrace Wall were built at the same time as parts of a single structure. Arguably, the 'rectangular building', the purpose of which is unclear, belongs to the RCT.3 phase.

A second slanting wall, at right angles to the first, separated the Room of the Chariot Tablets from the EW corridor to the W of it. It is considered that in this phase, the modification of the magazines N of the corridor was completed by the construction of a second EW magazine on the S side of the earlier one (*see* Fig. 5.9C). In 1923, Mackenzie described in some detail an investigation that revealed how the more easterly of two gypsum anta blocks of the original NS walls that projected into the corridor had been realigned with its S face parallel to the new slanting wall (Appendix 3, p 51-2). The more westerly anta was strengthened by having a block of rubble masonry placed against its W side (52_**D.1923/I:28R**). The same investigation showed that the breach in the NS wall that bounded the magazines on the E (wall A on Fig. 5.6) had been repaired with masonry having the same characteristics as that of the slanting walls (51_ **D.1923/I:27R**).

The 'seat', a low EW structure containing reused stair treads (21_**D.1922/II:68-9**), that divides the Room of the Chariot Tablets, and the low 'bench' set against its slanting SW wall were distinguished

by a different ornament on Mackenzie's sketch (*see* Fig. 5.3). However, their orientation suggests that they belong to the same construction phase as the slanting walls and they seem to define a small chamber in the S part of the Room and may have formed the foundations for its walls. The 'bench' and the 'seat' were dismantled in 1907 (50_**D.1907:84**) when libation tables and stone lamps, considered by Mackenzie to be of MM III date, were found. These provide a *terminus post quem* for the structures. Possibly also dating to the RCT.3 phase is rubble masonry, clearly visible in the abovementioned photograph, that blocked a doorway in the NS dividing wall on the E side of the Room of the Chariot Tablets. A blocking structure on Fyfe's plan (*see* Fig. 5.5) that connected the N wall of the Room to the N end of the E dividing wall, thereby enclosing a narrow magazine-like space, may be of the same date. Judging by the height of the threshold in the SW corner of this room, its floor and perhaps also that of the Room of the Chariot Tablets at this time were at a height of 101.33m similar to that of the top of the 'seat' and the 'bench'. It is considered that the 'chariot' tablets were contained in the makeup deposit for this floor (see below) .

In the Room of the Stone Vases, the vessels for which the room is named occurred throughout a deposit, about 0.50m thick (47_ **D.16.04.1900**), that rested on a worn and blackened gypsum paving at a level of 100.85-7m, considered to belong to the RCT.2 phase. Evans (1935, 820) interpreted the material that contained the vases as debris from an upper floor treasury for ritual vessels which was precipitated into the corresponding basement space in the course of the final, that is, LM III A destruction. An alternative interpretation is that debris from a destruction of this date was laid down or modified to serve as makeup for the floor of the RCT.3 phase. As the deposit with vases was about 0.50m thick, the new floor would have been at a height of about 101.35m, comparable to that in the Room of the Chariot Tablets.

There is some evidence that the floor in the Lobby of the Stone Seat in the RCT.3 phase was at a similar height to that in the Room of the Chariot Tablets and it is suggested that the important assemblage of Linear B tablets were contained in its makeup deposit.

RCT.4 phase

The published plan of the excavation in 1900 (Fig. 5.1), the early photograph Fig. 5.4a, and the unpublished plan of Fyfe (Fig. 5.5) all indicate that, when first cleared of deposit, the EW corridor W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets was blocked at its W end. As the modified corridor with its 'slanting' structures obviously was in use during the RCT.3 phase, the blocking of the corridor at its W end must have taken place at a later stage. Driessen (1990b, fig. 12; *see* Fig. 5.8D) considered that the corridor was blocked during his fourth architectural phase when he believed that parts of the SE area of the West Wing, including the Room of the Chariot Tablets, were choked with destruction debris and abandoned. He argued that, at this time, the N doorway of the Room of the Chariot Tablets also was blocked, a view that Popham (1993, 175) vigorously rejected. On the other hand, a sketch by Mackenzie (Fig. 5.14) and an admittedly crude sketch in Evans' notebook, reproduced here as Fig. 5.15, do indeed show the Room of the Chariot Tablets with an intact N wall.

How much of the area was in use in the RCT.4 phase is unclear. Access from the passage that served the EW magazines to the Long Corridor had been prevented when the former was blocked. The 1900 plan of the excavation (Fig. 5.1) suggests that the Corridor of the House Tablets had also been blocked at its N end, possibly during the RCT.3 phase. In 1900, tablets were recovered from the upper part of the deposit infilling the Corridor (49_**D.18.04.1900**). These carried the ideogram AROM that was initially interpreted as a 'house', hence the name given the passage. The assemblage of tablets is linked through its scribes, especially 115, with those in the W Magazines. If, as is suggested below, some of the W Magazines and part of the Long Corridor were deliberately infilled, the Corridor of the House Tablets may have been treated in the same way.

From the evidence of the stair descending from the Central Court, which may have had its paving raised in this phase, it would seem that at least the Lobby of the Stone Seat was functional at a late date. The floor of the Lobby at this time was probably at a height of 101.35m, as were those in the Room of the Chariot Tablets and the Room of the Stone Vases and these rooms may also have been in use. There is, however, no secure ceramic evidence that indicates that any of these rooms were in use at a late date. A stirrup jar found at a depth of 2.30m below the ground surface just inside the Lobby of the Stone Seat (48_**D.27.04.1900**) could have been contained in the makeup deposit for the RCT.3 phase floor. In any case, according to Popham (1993, 177), the vase could well have been of LM III A date.

The stratigraphical affinities of the flimsy W and N walls of the Room of the Clay Bath, constructed over the S foundation of the 'rectangular building', have already been dealt with in Chapter 3 where it was argued that they date from the second phase of the Reoccupation Period. They were probably built in the RCT.4 phase. Driessen (1990b, 112) assigned these structures to his fifth architectural phase but was undecided as to whether they were of LM III B or Early Greek date.

The finds and their contexts

The finds from the area include two important assemblages of Linear B tablets, one in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, the other in the Lobby of the Stone Seat. At the first of these localities, tablets with ideograms of chariots and growing plants or trees were first encountered on 6 April 1900 (46_**D.06.04.1900**). Mackenzie noted that the tablets were much broken and that very few of the fragments fitted. Some of the inscriptions were so soft and crumbling that they could not be extracted or had to be taken out still embedded in their matrix (46_**D.11.04.1900**; 46_**AE.1900:27**). Clay sealings were subsequently found and the yield of these and of tablets continued until at least 14 April. The Daybook description of the finding of the tablets is generalised and their exact distribution and stratigraphical context are uncertain. There is no clear indication of the depth at which tablets were first encountered and some doubt regarding the position of the base of the deposit with tablets. Thus,

on 10 April Evans (46_**AE.1900:26**) noted that the excavation had reached a depth of about 2m and on the next day that tablets occurred *near the floor* at this depth. Mackenzie, on the other hand, did not record that the floor was at this depth until several days later (47_**D.17.04.1900**). However, by then, all the tablets had been removed and the floor had been cleared. There seems little reason to doubt that the floor had in fact been reached at the earlier date.

It has been argued above that the floor on which the deposit had lain is that which is visible in the early photograph, reproduced as Fig. 5.4. Adopted by Fyfe as his survey datum, the floor is at a height of 101.08m. Many of the tablets were found in the space between the S wall of the room and the S side of a long slab or 'seat' that ran E-W across it (46_**D.11.04.1900**). A sketch by Evans (Fig. 5.15a) suggesting that the tablets only occurred S of the 'seat' is balanced by a sketch in the Ink Version of Mackenzie's Daybook for 1900 (Fig. 5.15b) which shows that chariot inscriptions were also present in the N part of the room. A total of seven bronze hinges were also recovered (46_**AE.1900:22-3**; 46_**AE.1900:26**) that Evans (1935, 668) considered belonged to at least four boxes in which the tablets had been stored. He went on to say that the boxes were found in a closet beneath a small staircase but the excavation documents provide no evidence that supports this interpretation.

Mackenzie first mentioned the 'seat' on 11 April (46_**D.11.04.1900**) but it probably was encountered at an earlier date, as according to Evans the excavation had reached a depth of 2m by 10 April (see above) and the following day encountered the floor at a height of 101.08m. The top of the seat, as Popham (1993, 177) pointed out, and that of a low bench in the SW part of the room were no more than 0.30m above the floor. As already discussed, the presence of a second floor at a height of 101.33m is indicated by the jambs and threshold of a doorway in the SE corner of the Room of the Chariot Tablets. It was suggested that the 'seat' and the 'bench' were actually the foundations for the walls of a small chamber with a floor, at a height of 101.33m, that was at the level of or somewhat above the tops of the foundation structures. It is considered that the foundations and the associated floor were connected with the 'slanting' walls of the RCT.3 phase.

Many of the tablets were found in the period from 10 to 14 April 1900 after the discovery of the 'seat' and it is reasonable to assume that these were recovered from levels below its top. Consistent with this are comments by Evans (46_**AE.1900:27**; Evans, 1900, 29) that the inscriptions were found near the floor. Arguably, many if not all of the tablets had been contained in deposit that intervened between the floor at 101.08m and the floor at a height of 101.33m (*see* Fig. 5.15) and in all probability formed the makeup of the later floor.

It is presumed that the deposit consisted of the debris from a destruction but whether any of it lay as it had fallen cannot now be known. The floor on which the deposit lay was unpaved but it may have been robbed of its slabs in antiquity. The possibility cannot be ruled out that some tablets, recovered prior to the uncovering of the 'seat', were at levels higher than the upper floor. However, the character of the assemblage, effectively, if not actually, the work of one scribal hand, strongly suggests that it had been contained in a single context. The upward displacement, if any, of some tablets may be the result of later disturbance of the soil, perhaps through the action of stone robbers. It may be significant that the upper of the two floors in the Room of the Chariot Tablets was seemingly unpaved whereas floors at a comparable stratigraphical level elsewhere in the West Wing were paved with gypsum slabs.

Driessen (1990b, 59) interpreted the evidence differently. He argued that the majority of the tablets in the Room of the Chariot Tablets were found lying on a floor at a depth of 1.50m below the pre-excavation surface, that is, about 0.50m above the indurated earth floor exposed in 1900. He quoted passages in the excavation documents of Mackenzie and Evans that supposedly describe this high-level floor. However, the passage by Mackenzie is from his Ink Version and the 'floor', which was not mentioned in the corresponding entry (47_**D.14.04.1900**) in the original Daybook, is in the Room of the Stone Vases. Driessen interpreted the floor on which he considered the tablets to lie as possibly the collapsed remains of an upper storey floor. He further suggested (Driessen, 1990b, 60) that the 'seat' shown on early photographs and sketches had also fallen from the upper floor although it is hard to believe that a loosely constructed rubble structure could have survived the fall intact.

The important assemblage of tablets from the Lobby of the Stone Seat were discovered beneath a slab of gypsum *'just above the floor level . . . . in a deposit of burnt wood . . .'* (48_**.02.05.1900**). The floor on which the tablets rested presumably was the pavement with 'mosaiko' panel that is visible today and here has been referred to the RCT.2 phase. Driessen (1990b, 70) noted that the tablets were apparently *in situ* and concluded that they were contained in a deposit that lay beneath a late floor. It has been suggested above that the deposit formed the makeup for the RCT.3 floor at a height of about 101.35m.

A third, much smaller collection of tablets was recovered in the Corridor of the House Tablets. These must have lain on the floor with reused gypsum slabs at a height of about 100.80m that has been referred to the RCT.3 phase. This means that their context was of later date than that of the tablets found in the Lobby of the Stone Seat. The tablets are linked through their scribes with those from the

W Magazines and the large assemblage found in the N Entrance Passage. The composition and affinities of the three assemblages of tablets are discussed in some detail in Chapter 7.

It has been suggested above that the stone vessels found in the Room of the Stone Vases were contained in a 0.50m thick deposit that occupied the interval between floors at heights of 100.85 and 101.35m. According to Driessen (1990b, 84), most of the vases had affinities with LM I B vases from elsewhere in Crete but a vase in white gypsum was probably later. Popham (1993, 177) commented that the gypsum vase should be regarded as being of LM II or *later* date. It may reasonably be inferred that the stone vessels were in use at the time of the destruction of LM III A2.

Discussion

Driessen (1990b, 103) commented that there was little evidence for assigning the structures of his first architectural phase to MM II rather than to the MM III A Palace. Driessen and Macdonald (1997, 141) considered that the construction of the rooms on the W side of the Central Court was part of the Great Rebuilding of Evans, and took place early in LM IA. Other buildings at Knossos and elsewhere, included by them in their review of Neopalatial sites, have features in common with rooms of the first phase in the SE Area of the West Wing that had multiple doorways and possibly had floors with 'mosaiko' panels. A date of MM III to LM I for the structures of the RCT.1 phase is not inconsistent with the sparse information.

The floors of the RCT.1 phase in the Lobby of the Stone Seat and in the nearby E Pillar Room are considered to have been at a height of about 100.55-7m (Fig. 5.14). However, the corresponding floor level in the area W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets is believed to have been somewhat above 100.80m, like that of the early floor in the adjoining W Magazines area. There may have been no direct means of communication between the E and W parts of the area at this time. Excavation in the Room of the Stone Vases, the Room of the Chariot Tablets and the Court of the Altar was apparently discontinued before the floors of the RCT.1 phase were reached. However, in the last of these the level of the floor probably was at the top of the highest step of the stairway that ascends from the Room of the Chariot Tablets.

It seems probable that the extensive modification to the layout and function of the rooms in the area during the RCT.2 phase dates from the beginning of the LM II/III A period when the palace was rebuilt after the destruction of the LM I period. However, the only pottery retained from beneath the floors of the phase consists of an assemblage of sherds, the latest being of Middle Minoan date (54_**D.1923/I:32L**), that apparently were contained in the red earth layer beneath the burnt gypsum paving at a height of about 100.67m in the magazines W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets. It is suggested that the floor, which above has been referred to the RCT.2 phase, had been burnt during the conflagration of LM III A2. Arguably, it was this fire that baked the important assemblage of

Linear B tablets in the deposit that lies upon the 'mosaiko' floor in the Lobby of the Stone Seat. This floor, the slabs of which show signs of having been exposed to fire, is also at a height of about 100.67m.

The 'slanting' walls and associated structures, such as the 'seat' in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, that in this account are referred to the RCT.3 phase, were described as 'late' by Mackenzie (50_**D.1922/II:59-60;** 51_**D.1923/I:27R**) and removed, as was his usual practice with structures that he perceived as belonging to the Reoccupation Period. His sketch of the Room of the Chariot Tablets, as it was at the end of the 1900 campaign (*see* Fig. 5.14), implies that the 'slanting' walls were an integral part of the architectural context of the inscriptions. However, this would mean that, if the structures characterised by 'slanting' walls were indeed of the Reoccupation Period, the 'chariot' tablets that were supposedly contained in their destruction debris can be no earlier than LM III B in date. The tablets can date to the destruction of the LM II - LM III A palace only if the deposit that contained them and the floor upon which it lay were not of the same date as the Reoccupation Period 'slanting' walls but were earlier. The only possible alternative is that the 'slanting' walls did not in fact belong to the Reoccupation Period but were of earlier date - the solution adopted by Driessen (1990b). He accepted that the tablets had as their architectural context the 'slanting' walls, which he assigned to his Third Architectural Phase, but dated this to LM I A - LM II[1] although at least one of the stone vessels and a number of the clay sealings found with the 'chariot' tablets would indicate that the rooms of the phase were occupied until LM III A.

Mackenzie, while describing the 'slanting' structures as late, did not specifically assign them to the Reoccupation Period. His Daybooks provide no ceramic evidence that indicates that they dated to the LM III B period. On the other hand, there is none that rules out this possibility. The early photographs and sketches and the careful investigations of 1922 and 1923 clearly show that the 'slanting' structures belong to the last significant building phase in the area and occupy the same place in the stratigraphy as do structures referred to the Reoccupation Period elsewhere in the Palace. If a Reoccupation date is accepted for the 'slanting' walls, an early date for the 'chariot' tablets is possible only if they were contained in deposit that lay beneath the floor that was contemporaneous with the slanting walls, here taken to have been at a height of about 101.35m.

It has been argued above that the floor in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, on which the deposit with inscriptions had rested, lay at a height of 101.08m. If the deposits that contained tablets and the stone vessels are of the same date, as the excavators believed, the floor at 101.08m in the Room of the Chariot Tablets must correspond to the damaged gypsum paving at 100.85m in the Room of the

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[1] 'This is the architectural context [Third Architectural Phase] of the *Room of the Chariot Tablets* and forms the environment in which tablets, ivories, sealings and stone vases fell at the moment of the destruction' (Driessen, 1990b, 108).

Stone Vases and with the floor at a height of 100.67m in the Lobby of the Stone Seat. According to this arrangement, is it possible to maintain the correlation of the deposit with stone vessels, that include pieces of LM II/IIIA1 date (Warren, 1969), and those that contained the 'olive oil' and 'chariot' tablets and the associated clay sealings of similar date (*see* Owens, 1999). Also, it means that these deposits consisted of, or had their source in, the destruction debris of the 'Last' Palace of Evans but formed the makeup for the Reoccupation floor.

The dating of the 'chariot tablets' to the LM II period by Driessen (1990b, 114) has been challenged and a date of LM III A seems more likely. However, the conclusion that these tablets, as a body, were epigraphically different from and earlier than other assemblages in the Palace (Driessen, 1988, 165) seems valid. If they were indeed of early date, but were baked in the conflagration of LM III A, as argued by Popham (1993) and Owens (1999, 177), this would imply a Reoccupation date for the remainder of the archive. Driessen may have found this unacceptable, hence his suggestion of an LM II date for the 'chariot' tablets. The position held in this study is that the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets were baked in the LM III A2 fire but are nevertheless earlier than the main bulk of the archive. This is represented in the area by the assemblage of tablets recovered in the Corridor of the House Tablets. It has been argued that these occupy a higher stratigraphic level and rest upon the floor of the RCT.3 phase. Their affiliations through their scribal hands are with the tablets found in the W Magazines and the N Entrance Passage rather than the assemblages from the Room of the Chariot Tablets and the Lobby of the Stone Seat. They were contained in deposit of the RCT.4 phase with which it is believed the Corridor was deliberately infilled, as also were the Long Corridor to the W and a number of the W Magazines. The 'house' tablets are considered to be of LM III B date.

Area B. Throne Room area

Excavation of this important area (*see* Fig. 5.1) commenced early in the 1900 campaign and was largely completed in the following year. The first room to be cleared was that which came to be known as the Antechamber of the Throne Room, notable for the broad flight of four steps at its E side that led down from the Central Court (54_**D.09.04.1900**). Against the N and S walls of the Antechamber are seats made up of gypsum slabs, smoke-blackened in places (Fig. 5.16a, b). Above the backrest of the seat, the wall was covered with white plaster that was preserved almost to the original ground surface. Excavation proceeded westwards to uncover the Throne Room with its Lustral Basin in the S and a gypsum throne, flanked on either side by low benches, set against its N wall (Fig. 5.17a, b). The benches here had no backrests; instead the walls of the Throne Rooms and the adjoining chambers were covered with plaster. This still adhered to the walls in places up to their surviving tops. Remnants of frescoed plaster with their colour still preserved in places were still attached to the walls (e.g. 55_**D.09.04.1900/IV**).

Evans (1930, 4) considered the Throne Room and its Antechamber to be intrusive structures that 'entirely obliterated the earlier plan of the area that it occupied' (Evans, 1930, 15) including the earlier W facade of the Central Court. On the basis of sherds recovered by tests carried out in 1913 beneath the thresholds of the multiple doorways that open from the Central Court into the Antechamber he dated the construction of the Throne Room complex to the early part of the LM II period (Evans, 1931, 902). It was destroyed along with the rest of the 'Last Palace' in the conflagration of LM III A.

Palmer (1963a, 216-7), noting the occurrence in the Corridor of the Stone Basin [1] of the 'Pilgrim's Flask' (106_**D.27.04.1900** *and see* Palmer, 1962; Popham, 1964, 16; pl. 4:f-g), a possible import of undoubted LM III B date, argued that the Throne Room area had still been in use in the LM III B period. Boardman (1963, 25-32) briefly reviewed the excavation documents and concluded that there was no evidence of occupation in the area after the destruction of the palace in LM III A other than a blocking wall N of the Throne Room. Popham (1970, 55-6) re-examined the pottery from Evans' 1913 tests and considered that there was nothing later than early LM III A, apart from one dubious sherd possibly of LM III B date. He concluded that the central Court paving outside the entrance to the Throne Room had been laid during the early part of the LM III A period or soon after. He drew no conclusions regarding the date of either the construction or the destruction of the Throne Room system.

On the basis of a detailed examination of the documentary evidence from the area and of the surviving structures, Mirié (1979) reconstructed the stratigraphical sequence in the Throne Room area and collated the evidence relating to the levels of the floors recognised by the excavators. She considered that the Throne Room system was connected with the deepest floor level in the area[2] and belonged to the oldest palace for which there was evidence (Mirié, 1979, 76). A corresponding floor was present at a similar level beneath the present pavement of the Central Court. However, the deepest floor in the Throne Room area was also structurally linked with the youngest pavement in the Central Court by means of the steps up from the Antechamber. She concluded that the Throne

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[1] The Corridor is considered in more detail in Chapter 6.

[2] Nach diesem Bereich stratigraphischen Befund steht fest, dass das Thronraumareal auf dem tiefsten (in diesem Bereich nachgewiesenen) Bodenniveau liegt und keineswegs ein spätminoischer Bau auf einer '*tabula rasa*' ist, sondern zu den ältesten noch nachweisbaren Palastbereichen gehörte. Ihm zuzuordnen ist ein 'Central Court' auf demselben Niveau wie das Bodenpflaster des ältesten Palastes. Aus der Verbindung des jüngsten Hofpflasters mit dem tiefer gelegenen Thronraumareal durch vier Stufen am eingang ist ein kontinuierliche Benützung dieses Bereiches vom Beginn der Baugeschichte bis zur endgültigen Zerstörung des Palastes zu folgern. Diese Benützungkontinuität ist auch der Grund dafür, dass spätere Ein- oder Umbauten ohne merkliche Niveauveränderung vorgenommen wurden . . . Man darf also mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit für das Thronraumareal eine Benützung vom MM II bis SM III ansetzen. (Mirié, 1979,76).

Room system had been in continuous use, without any marked alteration in the level of its floor, from the date of its construction in MM II until its final destruction in LM III.

Mirié (1979, taf. 6) summarised the available information on the heights of the floors in the Throne Room system. Many of the levels on her diagram relate to a datum (messlinie) of Evans and Mackenzie that was, in fact, the pre-excavation ground surface. As this was not surveyed prior to excavation, any levels that relate to it lack precision. Many of the other floor levels are given in relation to a datum (messlinie II) used by Fyfe on an unpublished provisional plan of 1900, reproduced here in part as Fig. 5.18. On a second sketch plan (Evans, 1904, pl. 1, *see* Fig. 5.19), Fyfe recalculated some of his original levels using as datum a point located on the paving slabs at the SW corner of the Central Court. This is very close to a spot height of 101.78 on the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981) and, on Table 5.1, Fyfe's levels have been recalculated on the assumption that his new datum was at this height. His levels in some cases differ from those of Hood and Taylor by a few centimetres - the discrepancies perhaps resulting from changes in floor level brought about by the post-excavation restoration of this part of the Palace.

Table 5.1. Levels of floors and other structures in the area adjacent to the Throne Room.

Room	Fyfe's level (m)	Fyfe's level converted to datum at 101.78m	Hood and Taylor's level (m)
Room of the Chariot Tablets	-0.75	101.03	
Lobby of the Stone Seat	-1.16	100.62	101.67
Area of Cists			
top of 'masonry block'	+0.22	102.00[1]	
top of cists and matching floor	-1.13	100.65[1]	
base of S cist	-1.96	99.82[1]	
gypsum floor of corridor		100.77[1]	
floor W of masonry block		100.75[1]	
white cement floor, S of masonry block		101.30[1]	
yellow cement floor, S of masonry block		101.10[1]	
Antechamber	-0.99	100.79	100.73
Central Court near Antechamber	-0.45	101.33	101.19
Central Court beside stair to upper storey			101.30
Throne Room	-0.215	100.815	100.77

Note: It is probable that the floor associated with the cists corresponds to the earliest floor of the Lobby of the Stone Seat.

As in the Room of the Chariot Tablets area, little pottery of stratigraphical significance was reported or retained from Throne Room area and reconstruction of the sequence depends on the correlation of floors on the basis of their composition and height (Table 5.1). For convenience, the area has been

[1] Data derived from Evans (1904, pl. 1 *see* Figs. 5.19) and Mackenzie's sketch **D.1904:46** (Fig. 5.20).

divided into the Cists Area (*see* Figs. 5.19-21) to S of the Throne Room, the Throne Room with its Antechamber (Figs. 5.22-23), and the Service area, a group of small interconnected rooms to the W (Fig. 5.24).

The Cists Area - the building phases

To a large extent, elucidation of the stratigraphical sequence in the area of the Throne Room depends on the evidence obtained in the course of supplementary investigations by Mackenzie in 1904 in the Cists Area (Fig. 5.20 and see Appendix 3) that lies immediately S of the Antechamber. From this, four floor levels can be identified and a reconstructed stairway that passes over the earlier facade of the Central Court and ascends to the upper storey rooms of the West Wing must belong to a still later constructional phase. The oldest structures uncovered consist of three large cists, made up of limestone slabs and aligned NS (Fig. 5.21A). Although the associated floor had almost certainly been paved, it was not described as such and it may have been robbed of its slabs in antiquity. Whether the slabs were laid flush with the tops of the slabs forming the sidewalls of the cists, which reach a height of 101.65 (Table 5.1), or rested upon them is not known.

Subsequently the cists were infilled and a floor was constructed over them that Mackenzie (57-58_**D.1904:46-7**) described as paved although he gave no further details. Its makeup deposit consisted of pale clayey earth (). From the evidence of wall plaster adhering to its W side, Mackenzie inferred that the floor was 1.25m below the top of a block of masonry that lay about 0.60m to the E of the cists (Figs. 5.19, 5.21C). The level of the new floor, when related to the datum of Hood and Taylor (1981), is 100.75 (Table 5.1). Sherds recovered from the cists, in Boxes 736-743 in the Stratigraphical Museum collection, provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the floor. None are later than MM III B in date.

The presence of plaster on the W face of the masonry block indicates that this face had been part of the interior wall of a corridor or room, as suggested on Fig. 5.21A. The S face of the block was also covered with plaster but this stopped at a level more than 0.30m higher than the floor level to the west. It is concluded that when the plaster was applied to its W face, the masonry block was part of an intact early Facade that formed the E wall of the room that contained the sealed cists. The plaster on the S face of the block must relate to a later phase, after the Facade had been breached.

In the next phase in the Cists Area, a 'corridor' or magazine, elongated NS, was constructed over the pavement that covered the cists. This involved the construction on either side of the cists of mud or earth and rubble walls, lined with gypsum slabs up to a height of 1.15m. The new E wall, about 0.60m thick, was laid against the face of the earlier W Facade of the Central Court (Fig. 5.21B). The plan in the final report of the excavation (Evans, 1900, pl xiii) shows a thick wall without any

doorway to W of the cists (Fig. 5.1). It is presumed that the doorway, shown penetrating the present W wall of the room on the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981), was blocked at the time of the excavation. Within the 'corridor', the existing floor of gypsum slabs at a height of 100.75m may have been retained but it is possible that the old floor had been damaged through compaction of the infill of the underlying cists and was replaced. The 'corridor' was blocked at its S end by a wall that was also lined with gypsum slabs, parts of which were still in place when excavated, according to a note on a sketch by Mackenzie (55_**D.1904:11R**). As Mackenzie concluded, the corridor must therefore have been open to the north and accessible from the Throne Room system.

The works described above were carried out while the early W Facade of the Central Court was in position. They are assigned to three sub-stages of the CA.1 phase.

CA.1A Construction of the cists; floor level at 100.65 or c.100.70m

CA.1B Infilling of the cists: paved floor at 100.75m.

CA.1C Construction of gypsum 'corridor': floor level ?at 100.75m.

It has been argued above that, in the Lobby of the Stone Seat farther S, the earliest floor, at a height of about 100.55-7m, was related to the early W Facade of the Central Court. This floor, of the RCT.1 phase, must have been in use during the CA.1 phase. The discrepancy between its height and that of the floors in the Cists Area suggests that there was no communication between the two areas when the floors were in use.

In the CA.2 phase, the early W Facade of the Central Court was replaced by a new structure some 2m further E, only a block of masonry of the early Facade surviving to show its original position (Fig. 5.21C). The fact that the S side of the block was covered with plaster shows that the newly exposed surface was part of the interior walls of a new room formed by the construction of the later Facade. It would seem that part of the early Facade wall had been removed to create a niche in the W wall of the new room, perhaps one of the small cist-like apartments described by Evans (1904, 33). It must be assumed that the room-space between the earlier and later facades was accessible from the Central Court. Its floor, of yellow cement at a height of about 101.10m (Table 5.1), as indicated by the wall plaster on the S side of the masonry block (57-58_**D.1904:46-47**), was presumably related to the level of the Central Court pavement. It was at this time, in connection with the eastward displacement of the W Facade of the Central Court, that the Antechamber was constructed - its new S wall blocking off the gypsum-lined 'corridor'. As the corridor was left with no means of access, it is presumed that it was infilled during this construction phase. The 'mosaiko' floor of the RCT.2 phase, at a height of 100.67m in the Lobby of the Stone Seat, was laid down after the construction of the later Facade of the Central Court. This suggests a correlation of the CA.2 phase with the RCT.2 in the area to the south.

Subsequently, in the CA.3 phase, the floor in the narrow room on the E side of the Cists Area was re-laid in white cement at a level of 101.30m (57_**D.1904:46** and see Table 5.1), no doubt in response to a raising of the level of Central Court pavement at this time (cf. Mirié, 1979). Finally, in the CA.4 phase, this room was infilled and the 'Stepped Portico', a stairway that ascends westwards from the Central Court to the upper storey (58-59_**D.1904:49** and see Table 5.1), was constructed over it. A buttress wall laid against the S wall of the Antechamber of Throne Room supported the stairway on its N side.

Discussion

Mackenzie listed only three stages in his account of the structural development of the Cists Area (57-59_**D.1904:46-9**) but others are implicit.

1. Construction of the cists (= CA.1)
2. The infilling of the cists and the covering of these with paving (=CA.1B); the construction of the gypsum-lined corridor (=CA.1C).
3. Eastward displacement of the W Facade of the Central Court (=CA.2); construction of stairway ('The Stepped Portico') up W to upper storey of the West Wing (=CA.4).

The only event not specifically mentioned in Mackenzie's account is the replacement of the yellow cement floor in the room between the old and the new facades by a white cement floor 0.20m higher and the corresponding raising of the paving in the Central Court (CA.3).

Mirié (1979, 36-7) discussed the gypsum-lined 'corridor' and its relations with the Throne Room complex to the N in some detail. From the evidence of sherds found in its fill, she inferred that it had been infilled no later than LM I and must therefore have been constructed at an earlier date, as Evans (1904, 32) had suggested. She questioned the statement by Evans (1921, 455) that the corridor was blocked by the construction of the S wall of the Antechamber in LM II. She argued that a later wall had been built alongside the original wall of the Antechamber on its S side[1] and it was this strengthening wall that was built over the cist.

Mirié's argument is not sound. If the Antechamber was of the same date as or earlier than the cists, its *original* S wall must already have been in place when the gypsum-lined 'corridor' was constructed. The 'corridor' would therefore have been blocked at both ends from the moment it was built. It is inconceivable that so prestigious a room had had no means of access and the 'corridor' must have existed before the S wall of the Antechamber with its bench (Fig. 5.17a) was completed. Mirié noted that the 'corridor' unquestionably had been infilled prior to the construction of the stair

[1] 'Auf ein unpublizierten Skizze Fyfes, die ich in Ashmolean Museum fand, hatte der Architekt durch eine deutlich durchdezogene Trennlinie angegeben, dass es sich um zwei aneinanderstossende Mauern (Mauerverstärkung?) handelte. (Mirié, 1979, 36).

to the upper storey. Perhaps on account of her doubts regarding its age and its connections with other rooms in the area, the 'corridor' does not appear on any of the sketches (Mirié, 1979, taf. 35 *see* Fig. 5.22) on which she illustrates her view of the architectural development of the Throne Room area.

Summary

It seems certain that the cists, as originally constructed in the Middle Minoan period (CA.1A), were related to the earlier W Facade of the Central Court (Fig. 5.21A). The associated floor, of gypsum slabs, was at a height of about 100.65-70m. Access to the cists is presumed to have been from the W. Later, while the W Facade of the Central Court was still in being, the cists were infilled (CA.1B) and the gypsum-lined chamber, opening N into an early form of the Antechamber (Fig. 5.21B), was constructed over them (CA.1C). These building phases probably dated to the LM I period. In the period that followed (CA.2), the later W Facade of the Central Court was constructed and its predecessor partially dismantled (Fig. 5.21C). In the course of this phase, which corresponds to the 'Last Palace' period, the gypsum-lined chamber was blocked at its N end by the construction of the S wall of the Antechamber and infilled. Floor level in the small rooms to W of the new facade, presumably matching that of the paving of the Central Court, was initially at a height of 101.10m but was raised later to 101.30m in response to a raising of the Central Court pavement (CA.3). Finally, during the last stage of the development of the area (CA.4), the space between the early and later facades was infilled, a buttress wall was set against the S wall of the Antechamber and the staircase up to the upper storey was constructed (Fig. 5.21D).

The Throne Room system

The most striking feature of the Throne Room is the lustral basin on its S side. Against the N wall is the throne, flanked on either side by low benches constructed of gypsum slabs. A shallow stone-lined recess or 'loculus' is built into the wall behind the more easterly bench. At present a double doorway connects the Throne Room to the Antechamber to the east. According to Evans (1935, 905) this represents the original arrangement but the jambs and central pillar of the doorway were removed by the occupants in antiquity. Benches of similar construction to those in the Throne Room are set against the N and S walls of the Antechamber. The floors of both rooms have a central 'mosaiko' panel surrounded by rectangular gypsum slabs. At the E side of the Antechamber, a broad flight of four steps, the upper two divided into four sections by gypsum doorjambs, ascends to the Central Court. To the N of the Antechamber is a small room contained on its N and E sides by a rounded stylobate of gypsum orthostates on a plinth course of roughly dressed limestone blocks. These, according to Mackenzie (106-107_**D.1904:05-06**), were earlier than the structural context in which they now occur and were considered by Evans (1935, 903) to be a remnant of the earlier facade of the Central Court. On the N side of the small room, a corridor paved with gypsum slabs extended

towards the west. In this corridor was found a stone basin, for which the corridor was named, and a flat wine flask.

Stratigraphy according to Mirié (1979) (Table 5.2, Fig. 5.22).

From a detailed examination of the documentary evidence and of the structures in the Throne Room and its adjoining structures, Mirié (1979) reconstructed the stratigraphical sequence, listing four main phases. To the first of these she assigned the construction of the lustral basin, probably with the three column bases on its N side, and the N wall of the Throne Room with the 'loculus' (Fig. 5.22:1). She suggested that these elements were contained in a single undivided room, bounded on the E by the earlier facade of the Central Court. She considered it possible that the 'mosaiko' panel in the Throne Room, at the same height as the top step down into the lustral Basin, dated from this period also.

Subsequently, in her second phase, a partition wall was constructed, separating the 'Throne Room' from an Antechamber formed by the eastward displacement of the Central Court facade (Fig. 5.22:2). In this phase, the stone benches and throne were set in place and the N wall of the lustral basin was raised. She suggested that the gypsum slabs that form the existing surround for the central 'mosaiko' panel in the Throne Room dated from this period also, replacing an earlier surround of unknown composition.

The slabs of the new surround were evidently earlier than the throne as its plinth rested upon them. On the other hand, the surround stopped against the plinths of the gypsum benches, indicating that these were already in place when the floor slabs were laid down. Thus, it would appear that the benches were earlier than or contemporaneous with the gypsum surround that was in turn earlier than the throne. She noted that the throne was set against an early layer of wall plaster but was embedded in later layers, the last of which was frescoed. The stone benches, however, were apparently set against the surface of the latest plaster, which in turn post-dated the throne. Mirié argued that the contradiction inherent in these relationships could be avoided only by assuming that the stone benches had had wooden precursors that pre-dated the gypsum surround of the 'mosaiko' panel and the throne. The bench of gypsum slabs, that was placed against the N wall of the lustral basin and partly encloses the lower parts of its columns, rests upon the slabs of the present gypsum surround. Mirié considered that the Central Court pavement of this phase was at the same height as the Throne Room floor.

The third and fourth phases of Mirié's stratigraphical reconstruction mainly concern modifications to the Antechamber of the Throne Room that accompanied changes in the level of the pavement in the Central Court. She examined in detail the relationship that the structures of the E entrance had with

the gypsum bench which in her second phase had been set against the full length of the S wall of the Antechamber. She argued that the bench predated the construction of the four steps that ascend from the Antechamber to the Central Court. She noted that a block of the pillar on the S side of the entrance was notched to accommodate the end of the slab that formed the top of the bench and inferred from this that the entrance to the Antechamber had been modified on two occasions. In the first of these, the paving in the Central Court was raised to a height of approximately 101.06m and the lower two of the present four steps were constructed. During this phase, the W facade of the Central Court was displaced 2 m to the E.

Table 5.2. Stratigraphy of the Throne Room system as proposed by Mirié (1979)

Throne Room	Antechamber	Central Court and Corridor of the Stone Basin
Phase IV		
	Alteration of entrance system in conjunction with second raising of pavement of Central Court. Construction of upper two steps, in LM III. (77) [1]	Second raising of paving of Central Court - to 101.30m; cover slabs of cistern. Construction of stair up to upper storey of West Wing.
Phase III		
	Alteration of entrance system in conjunction with first raising of pavement of Central Court. Construction of lower two steps. (77)	First raising of paving of Central Court - to 101.10m. Construction of later W Facade of Central Court.
Phase II		
Stone benches. Later layers of wall plaster; frescoes. Introduction of the throne. (Construction of the cists to S). ?later gypsum surround of 'mosaiko' panel; first layer of wall plaster. Postulated wooden benches. Alteration (possible infilling) of lustral basin (68)- N wall raised and possibly widened to cover part of column bases.	Stone benches.	
Insertion of partition wall separating Throne Room from Antechamber. (77)	Laying of 'mosaiko' floor.	Construction of early entrance of Antechamber on line of later W Facade of Central Court.
Phase I		
Construction of 'Throne Room' and Antechamber as single room with lustral basin and perhaps its column bases (76); N wall of room with 'loculus' (52); ?central 'mosaiko' panel and early surround (54). ?MM II		Earlier straight facade with curved NE corner.

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to pages in Mirié (1979).

Finally, in her fourth phase, the level of the central Court pavement was raised for a second time, to its present level at about 100.30m (Table 5.1). This entailed the addition of two steps to the E stairway of the Antechamber and modifications to the pillars on either side (Fig. 5.22:3). She observed that the drainage system to NE of the Antechamber had been altered to accord with the changed level of the Central Court paving. Also in the fourth phase, a buttress wall was laid against the outside of the S wall of the Antechamber and a broad stairway ('Stepped Portico') up to the upper storey was constructed (Fig. 5.22:4). Mirié's conclusions are summarised on Table 5.2.

Discussion

Mirié's reconstruction of the structural development of the Throne Room system is not without its problems. Thus, her assignation of the 'mosaiko' panel in the Throne Room to her first phase is debatable if her suggestion is correct that the earliest Throne Room with its lustral basin was undivided and was limited on the E only by the early facade of the Central Court. As was known to Mackenzie (49-50_**D.1907:83-4**) panels of this type were symmetrically placed within rooms. Such an arrangement could be achieved in the Throne Room only after its limits had been established. An early date for the panel cannot be ruled out but its presence would imply that the Throne Room was demarcated from the space to the E by a feature, such as a low stylobate, in the position occupied by the later partition wall. The position of the 'mosaiko' panel of the present floor in the Antechamber is symmetrically positioned and is presumably an original feature of its construction.

Of greater importance is Mirié's failure to integrate the gypsum-lined 'corridor' of the Cists Area into her stratigraphical reconstruction. The 'corridor' does not appear on any of the sketch plans with which she illustrated her structural phases (Fig. 5.22). That the 'corridor' was closed at its S end by a gypsum-lined wall and was accessible only from the N was revealed during the excavation (see above). However, the 'corridor' can have been entered from the N only in the period prior to the construction of the S wall of the Antechamber and the stone bench that is set against it. An early date for the 'corridor' is indicated by the evidence that its E wall was built against the early W facade of the Central Court while it was still intact.

Finally, there is the difficulty of the relations of the paved floors with the stone benches. The slabs of the existing gypsum surrounds to the 'mosaiko' panels in the Antechamber and the Throne Room are fitted around the plinths of all the benches apart from that which is built against the N wall of the lustral basin. On the face of it, it is likely that at least the surrounds of the floors are later than or of the same construction phase as the benches. Mirié rejected this interpretation. However, her attempt to explain the relations of the wall plaster with the throne and the stone benches by suggesting that the paving had originally been fitted around wooden benches that were later replaced by the present stone structures is not convincing. Thus, it is hard to visualise the builders cutting stone paving slabs

to fit around wooden benches and, in a subsequent period, constructing stone benches to conform to the spaces left behind when their postulated wooden predecessors were destroyed or removed. The actual relations of the wall plaster with the throne and the benches may not be as Mirié supposed and further examination of them is warranted. The composition of the polygonal slabs of the 'mosaiko' panels in the Throne Room and its Antechamber is similar, suggesting that the stone for both panels was obtained at the same time. This is consistent with but does not prove the suggestion that the existing panels in the two rooms were laid down at the same time, as either or both panels may have been re-laid using stone salvaged from an earlier structure. An alternative interpretation of the structural development of the Throne Room system is proposed here, in which five main constructional phases are recognised.

The TRS.1 phase.

In the first phase, the early Throne Room was constructed with its entrance in line with the early W Facade of the Central Court - possibly there was a porch. Following Mirié (1979, 53), it is considered that, in its original form, the lustral basin most probably had column bases on its N side. The loculus in N wall of the Throne Room is taken to be an original feature. The Throne Room floor in this phase was probably at a height of about 100.74m, corresponding to the top of the highest step of the lustral basin. According to Evans (1900, 39), this was 0.70m above the floor of the basin which, on the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981), is at a height of 100.04. The floor was thus almost exactly at the present level of the 'mosaiko' panel. Mirié's contention that the panel dated from the earliest period implies that the Throne Room was clearly demarcated from its 'porch' (*see* Fig. 5.23A).

The TRS.2 phase.

In this phase, a doorway was opened up in the S wall of the porch of the Throne Room, giving access to the adjacent room to the S with cists (*see* Fig. 5.23B). The construction of these (CA.1A) probably dates to the TRS.1 phase rather than to a later period as Mirié (1979, 77) suggested. Subsequently the cists were infilled and floored over (CA.1B) and still later a chamber lined with gypsum slabs was constructed on their site (CA.1C). The paved floor of the chamber, at a height of about 100.75m, similar to that of the present height of the 'mosaiko' panel in the Throne Room according to the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981), is consistent with the suggestion that the two rooms were connected. It also supports the case for an early date for the 'mosaiko' panel. It is not possible to determine whether the connection was made in the CA.1B phase or after the construction of the gypsum-lined chamber.

The TRS.3 phase.

It is considered that in this phase the Antechamber was constructed, its S wall sealing off the gypsum-lined chamber that was almost certainly infilled at this time (CA.2). The position of the

'mosaiko' panel in the Antechamber indicates that the newly built E entrance was in line with the later W Facade of the Central Court (*see* Fig. 5.23C). This raises the possibility that construction of the later facade, with partial removal of its predecessor, and of the Antechamber belongs to the same extensive remodelling of the West Wing of the Palace. It is uncertain whether the 'mosaiko' panel in the Throne Room dates was laid at this time also or was retained from an earlier period and provided with a new surround of gypsum slabs, as Mirié (1979, 68) suggested. The benches, some or perhaps all with gypsum backrests, were constructed in the Throne Room and the Antechamber, the paving slabs of the floor surrounds being fitted around their plinths. Mirié argued that the lustral basin had had no functional connection with the throne and its associated benches. As the finds reported from it are of Middle Minoan date, the basin may have been infilled prior to the reconstruction of the Throne Room system. However, in this phase, its N wall was remodelled apparently in connection with the emplacement of a bench against its N side. This is the only bench that rests upon the slabs of the gypsum floor surround. The throne, which also rests upon the paving slabs, was probably installed at this time, as were the frescoes. Scorching of the gypsum of floors, benches and wall plaster may result from the destruction of LM III A2:1.

To the S of the Throne Room system, a new room was created between the new W Facade and the remains of the older one. The level of the floor in the room, at a height of 101.10m (CA.2), indicates that the paving in the Central Court had been raised at this time. If the Antechamber and the later W Facade of the Central Court were built at the same time, this would imply that the lower two steps of the E entrance of the Antechamber are part of the original construction. If the Antechamber is of the same build as the new W Facade, this means that its 'mosaiko'-panelled floor may well be of the same date as that in the Lobby of the Stone Seat as it also was related to the later facade.

The TRS.4 phase.

In this phase, on the evidence of the floor in the room that lies between the early and later W facades (CA.3), the level of the Central Court was raised to 101.30m, perhaps as a convenient means of disposing of destruction debris when the palace was cleared prior to rebuilding. The upper two steps of the E entrance of the Antechamber must date from this period also. Possibly the floor level in the Throne Room system was raised. The works are here attributed to the early phase of the Reoccupation.

The TRS.5 phase

The latest structure in the area consists of the stairway (CA.4) that ascends W to the upper storey of the West Wing (*see* Fig. 5.23D). In order to support the stairway on its N side, a rubble wall was built against the S side of the S wall of the Antechamber.

Dating the Throne Room system

Virtually no pottery was described or retained from the first year's campaign when the area was cleared and none of stratigraphical significance was reported. The recorded small finds, mostly from the lustral basin and the 'loculus' in the N wall, include a miscellaneous assemblage of objects in rock crystal, shell, faience and lapis lazuli, together with some gold foil (Evans, 1935, 928-34; Mirié, 1979, 44-6), considered to be of Middle Minoan date. It is most likely that these came from destruction deposit that had been searched in antiquity for objects of value before being used as infill and that their recovery is largely due to the sieving of the deposit ordered by Evans.

In an attempt to date the Throne Room system, Evans (1935, 902) caused tests to be carried out beneath its floors on a number of occasions. In the Throne Room itself, nothing later than 'sub-Neolithic' pottery was found. Pottery, said to have been recovered from beneath the paving slabs in the Antechamber of the Throne Room and now in Box 713 in the Stratigraphical Museum, included part of the stem of a tall plain kylix of LM III A-B date (Palmer, 1965, 109; Popham, 1970, 55). There is, however, some doubt regarding the provenance of the pottery.

Sherds now in Boxes 701 and 838, from tests carried out in 1913 under the pavement of the Central Court and beneath the threshold of the Antechamber entrance respectively, include material of LM III A date. One sherd in Box 701 may be of LM III B date (Popham, 1970, 55). The structural evidence on site fully justifies Mirié's claim that the higher two steps post-date the construction of the bench against the S wall of the Antechamber. The scant pottery suggests a *terminus post quem* for the steps and the raising of the level of the Central Court of LM III A, or possibly LM III B.

The gypsum of the wall-linings, the paving slabs, the back rest of the throne and the benches throughout the Throne Room system is blackened in places through the action of fire. As Mirié pointed out, the excavators reported that the painted wall plaster had also been scorched. There is no evidence from the finds to suggest that the system was in use during the later part of the Reoccupation Period when masonry and wall plaster in the SW Palace area and the Domestic Quarter were damaged by fire. The fire damage in the Throne Room system is therefore most likely attributable to the main destruction of the palace in the LM III A period. Consistent with this is the fact that the paving stones are affected, indicating that the fire had occurred prior to the construction of any floor that could be attributed to the Reoccupation Period.

Stone vessels, including a number of gypsum alabastrons considered by Warren (1969, 5) to be of LM II/IIIA date, were found resting, apparently *in situ*, on the paved floor in the Throne Room (55_**D.13.04.1900**). If the vases were in use after the Throne Room system was restored to use in the period following the destruction of LM III A, they must be regarded as heirlooms. Alternatively, they

may have been contained in debris from the LM III A destruction that was not cleared away and was retained to form the makeup for a later floor.

There is uncertainty as to exactly what happened in the Throne Room during the last phases of its occupation. The frescoed plaster in which the throne was embedded was said by the excavators to have been burnt in places (55_**D.09.04.1900/IV**; Evans, 1900, 36). If this was due to the fire of LM III A2:1, it confirms that the throne was installed at an earlier time although after construction of the gypsum surrounds of the floor. On the other hand, it means that when, or if, the room came back into use in the Reoccupation Period, the scorched plaster was allowed to remain on the walls. In consequence, because the benches and lower walls were already scorched as a result of the LM III A fire, there is no way of determining whether or not the plaster was affected by fire on a second occasion, in the later part of the Reoccupation. Nor can it be demonstrated that the plaster had in fact been replaced and was scorched in the later fire. It is in fact possible that the scorched LM III A plaster remained on the walls of the Throne Room when it was reoccupied but was protected from the effects of a second fire by deposit with which the room had been deliberately packed, as in the Domestic Quarter. If the Throne Room had been deliberately infilled, this would provide an explanation for the absence of artifacts dating to the Reoccupation Period.

Service Area

Many of the small rooms of the Service area (Fig. 5.24), to the W of the Throne Room system, were excavated during the 1900 campaigns and clearance of the area was completed in 1901. The excavation documents provide little information of stratigraphical value and only a few finds were reported. A scattering of Linear B tablets were recovered, the greatest concentration being in the Magazine of the Jewel Fresco. The tablets are linked, by means of their scribal hands, with assemblages from other localities in the West Wing and the N Front (*see* Chapter 7).

Of particular importance was the discovery of fragments of inscriptions underlying a blocking structure in the doorway in the W wall of the 'Room of the Cupboard' (59_**AE.1901:19** and see Palmer, 1965, 114). It is reasonable to infer that the doorway was blocked in the LM III B period. In the room W of the Room of the Stone Drum (Fig. 5.24) a fragment of a pictographic inscription was found (59_**D.1901/I:39**). The E wall of the Room of the Stone Drum is made up of earth and rubble, as is a cylindrical structure set against its W wall. Both have the appearance of late structures. The S wall of this room is shown on the final plan of the 1900 excavation (Evans, 1900, pl. XIII) as having no doorway. However, a doorway that had escaped attention, presumably because it had been blocked, was recognised and opened up the following year (59_**D.1901:54**).

Area C. Long Corridor and the W Magazines (Fig. 5.1)

Excavation of the Long Corridor and the magazines that lie on its W side commenced in 1900 and was completed in 1901. Supplementary investigations were carried out in the area in 1903 and 1904, mainly on the floor-cists, and in 1923. The abundance of large pithoi, the storage cists beneath the paved floors and the occurrence in most of the magazines of inscribed tablets ensured extensive coverage in the excavation documents and in the annual reports to the British School at Athens (Evans, 1900, 19-23; 1901, 37-49; 1903, 28-35; 1904, 34-8). These accounts describe in some detail the structural evolution of the Magazines area.

The documentary evidence

The excavation and its findings are described in considerable detail in the publications by Palmer, Hallager and Raison, cited in Chapter 1, which quote largely from Mackenzie's Daybooks and the notebooks of Evans, and only a brief summary is necessary here. Relevant passages from the excavation documents are given in Appendix 3. From these it is evident that the excavators were more interested in the finds than in the details of the architecture. Commonly, the excavation photographs (Fig. 5.25A-J) provide more information than the text.

As summarised by Evans (1900), the excavations of 1900 had almost completely cleared the Long Corridor and Magazines I to VIII and had exposed the antae flanking the entrances of Magazines IX to XIII. The magazine walls, coated with white plaster decorated with bands of red and blue or grey at a height of about 0.90m above paved floors, survived to ceiling height, the holes where crossbeams had rested being visible in places. A buttress against its N wall almost divided Magazine VII in two. Cists had been discovered in the floors of Magazines IV to VIII. In Magazine VIII, which had been previously been investigated by Kalokairinos, upper shallow cists had been constructed over the cut away remains of earlier cists. The later cists had then been paved over. Late rubble crosswalls blocking the Long Corridor near its N and S ends were identified. The entrances of Magazines IV and V had been narrowed.

In 1901, Magazines IX to XVIII were cleared (Evans, 1901). The burnt ceilings of Magazines IX and X were found still in place at a height of about 1.90m above the floor. The wall between Magazines X and XI had been thickened on both sides. The doorway of Magazine XIII had been narrowed by means of gypsum slabs set on end, one above the other. The pavement in the Long Corridor passed without a break beneath the northern crosswall. The cists in Magazines XI, XII and XIII may have been in use as their cover slabs could be removed. Those in Magazine XII had been carefully lined with cement. A number of cists in Magazines IV, V and VI were opened, all of them divided into upper and lower compartments.

In 1903, further investigations were carried on the cists in several of the magazines. Where the cists had been divided into two compartments, according to Evans (1903) the upper receptacles were usually found open, with their gypsum wall slabs blackened, as were the surrounding parts of the magazines. The pottery found in the upper compartments was in the 'advanced Palace style', that is LM II - III A, showing that the cists had been in use during the latest period of the building. In Magazine VIII, the upper cists had been paved over. The buttresses set against the N wall of Magazine VII and the S wall of Magazine IX proved to have been built over and into the cists and dated to a comparatively late period in the history of the palace. The material packing the cists around the buttress in Magazine VII contained a sherd in the late 'Palace Style', that is, of LM II- III A date.

In the Long Corridor, the 'surprising' discovery was made that a series of cists lay beneath its pavement (Evans, 1903). These contained pottery that was *' uniformly of the same advanced character'* according to Mackenzie (62-63_**D.1903/II:85**), who concluded that *'all these cists of the long corridor were closed at one time probably after some catastrophe to the building and that they were closed at a later date than the cist of the 4th Magazine which contained ware with light design on a dark ground*'. Evans (1921, 453) assigned an MM III B date to the pottery but, according to Popham (1970, 53), the material retained from the cists is of LM III A2 date.

Further investigations in 1904 revealed that in Magazines VI to XIII, narrow jambs of gypsum had been set within, and projecting slightly beyond, the antae of the original construction (Evans, 1903). Gypsum slabs had been applied to the E face of the antae to bring them into line with the new jambs. Evans observed that the timber doorframes associated with the new jambs were subsequently removed and the sides of the entrance plastered over with painted stucco. He considered that it was at this time that the cists in the floors of the magazines were either covered over with new pavement or more commonly reduced to shallow receptacles. At a still later date, the entrances to Magazines IV, V and XIII were narrowed. The remains of a wall with a central doorway were identified crossing the Long Corridor at the entrance to Magazine III. Evans described the jambs of the doorway as being 'lost in the later pavement' of the Corridor. He considered that the wall was of the same date as the narrow jambs in the magazines.

Finally, the investigations of 1923 revealed the much worn stumps of gypsum slabs that had previously lined the walls of at least some of the magazines. The wall-linings were related to the older of the two gypsum pavements. Curiously, there is no mention of the fact that the gypsum of the dado stumps is thoroughly blackened. The wall plaster that replaced the cut away wall-linings was apparently related to the later paving. Cists in Magazines V, XI, XII and XIII were examined in detail.

From the manner in which the entrances to the magazines had changed, Mackenzie (77_**D.1904:51** summarised the structural development of the magazines, recognising four stages, here termed WM.1 to WM.4.

'1. In the first period the great doorjambs were used with strong doors to them.

2. In the second period all the doors (6th - 13th) were narrowed by means of the small doorjambs, the faces of the antas were covered with slabs and strong doorways were still used.

3. In the third period the use of the small doorjambs was given up as is shown by the presence of stucco on the walls where their door posts should have been and the magazines were used apparently without doors.

4. To a later period still - the last palace period - belongs the narrowing of the entrances to certain magazines such as the 4th, 5th, 6th by means of a new N doorjamb, this time of limestone, as well as the 13th in which a new S doorjamb of limestone concealed beneath it an earlier one of gypsum'.

From entries in Mackenzie's Daybooks, a fifth phase - WM.5 - can be inferred in which the Long Corridor was blocked off by rubble crosswalls to S (59_**D.27.04.1900**) and N (60_**D.21.05.1900**).
In his final publication, *The Palace of Minos*, Evans (1921, 448-62) provided only a brief summary in which he outlined his view of the stratigraphy of the magazines. He considered that, in some magazines, the shallow upper cists constructed in the WM.2 phase were in use at the time of the final destruction. In other parts of the Magazines area, including the Long Corridor, the cists and the narrow jambs had been paved over. In Evans' view, the Magazines area was not reoccupied after the destruction of the Last Palace. If he were correct, it follows that the structures of phases WM.3 to WM.5, such as the buttresses in Magazines VII and IX, the masonry and jambs that constricted some of the magazine entrances and the crosswalls in the Long Corridor must all have been in place before the final conflagration.

The structural remains

An examination of the surviving remains of the Magazines area in the course of the present study showed that, while their state of preservation is far from ideal, most of the structural elements described in the excavation documents are still visible. In many cases, the excavators' accounts of their relations with one another can be verified and all but the last of the five building phases listed above can be recognised.

The WM.1 phase

The earliest structures in the W Magazines area are here referred to the WM.1 phase, which broadly conforms to Mackenzie's first phase. The end walls of the magazines consist of large gypsum orthostates of the inner element of the W Facade of the Palace resting on a plinth course. The level of this suggests that the corresponding floors, if they were ever laid, would, like those in the area to the

E already discussed, have been at a higher level than either of the two floors that are visible at present. The large gypsum anta-jambs that form the E terminations of the magazine walls are set at a lower level and they, and probably also the magazine walls, may be of later date than the gypsum orthostates. The floors that relate to the antae cannot be identified on the available evidence. The antae mostly show the effects of fire but close to floor-level their gypsum commonly retains its original crystalline structure. The orthostates that form the end walls of the magazines are mostly scorched in places but those of the W wall of Magazine II are fresh and crystalline.

WM.2 phase

The ledged doorjambs of the WM.2 phase that were set against the large antae in Magazines V to XIII are still in place. In some cases the remains of gypsum lining slabs that were placed against the E faces of the antae to bring them into line with the faces of the later jambs (see Evans, 1904, fig. 11 and Fig. 5.26) still survive. Boskamp (1997) argued that the antae, being set at a higher level, were later than the jambs. It seems unlikely, however, that the very heavy antae would have been manoeuvred into place to accord with the much lighter jambs, rather than the converse. The jambs and the slabs applied to the E face of the antae therefore belong to the second building phase, as concluded by Evans (1904, 36). All the jambs are heavily blackened through the action of fire, as also are the pavements of gypsum slabs associated with them in Magazines VI to XIII. Very little survives of the pavement in Magazine V.

The jambs vary considerably in their dimensions. Critically, the distance from their tops to the surface of the ledges that were intended to support the slabs of the pavement ranges from 0.10 to 0.18m. The slabs in contact with the jambs have mostly been removed but it can be seen that the pavement in Magazines VIII and IX could not have rested directly upon the ledges (*see* Fig. 5.27a, b). The same may be true of the large paving slabs that still bridge the gap between the ledged doorjambs in Magazines XII and XIII (Fig. 5.28), their surface being only a centimetre or so below the top of the jambs. It is possible that jambs are not in their original setting and have been reused. Alternatively, at an earlier stage, the slabs were actually laid on the ledges of the jambs and formed shallow troughs in the magazine entrances that were kept filled with water for reasons of hygiene or cooling.

The gypsum pavements of the WM.2 phase that are associated with the doorjambs are recognisable in Magazines III to XIII inclusive and in Magazine XVII although, in some cases, only a few of the original slabs survive. All the floors are fire-blackened to some extent. All, with the exception of that in Magazine III, were penetrated by cists. In almost all the cists, the gypsum lining slabs show the effects of fire and are thoroughly blackened or partially converted to white anhydrite. The only exceptions are the westernmost two cists in Magazine VI in which the gypsum is fresh and

crystalline. The gypsum floor slabs alongside are also unburnt, however, and it would appear that the fire, either through lack of fuel or oxygen, had failed to penetrate to the W end of the Magazine.

According to the excavation documents, many of the cists had been repaired or reduced in depth. The cists were considerably damaged during their excavation and have suffered subsequently through weathering with the result that, in many cases, the precise relationship of their lining slabs with the burnt gypsum pavement cannot now be determined. However, Evans described how the fire-affected paving slabs in Magazine VI were related to the blackened wall slabs of the cists. Mackenzie (81_**D.1923/I:07L**) noted that the paving slabs in Magazine XII slanted down from the cists to the magazine walls (Fig. 5.29). He attributed the deformation of the pavement to compaction of the makeup deposit - probably correctly - and concluded that its paving slabs had sagged less where they rested on the wall that framed the cists. The blackened wall slabs of other cists in the same magazine stand proud of the burnt gypsum flooring and it is presumed that in these cases the paving slabs were not supported at their inner edges. A layer of cement over the slabs on the N side of the cists, recorded by Mackenzie (81-82_**D.1923/I:07R**), was no doubt intended to compensate from the subsidence of the pavement.

Mackenzie's careful investigations in 1923 revealed for the first time the stumps of gypsum slabs that had formerly lined the walls of Magazines XII and XIII. The surviving structures were described in detail by Hallager (1977) who pointed out the stumps were heavily burned, a fact that was, almost inexplicably, not mentioned by Mackenzie in his Daybook descriptions. As well as in Magazine XII and XIII, stumps of dado-slabs can still be seen close to the base of the S walls of Magazine IV, opposite the 3rd and 4th cists from the W, and Magazine V, opposite cist 3. Mackenzie demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that, in Magazine XII, the wall slabs were contemporaneous with a paved floor that lay at a variable depth beneath the floor on which the pithoi rested (77-79_**D.1923/I:01-02**). He did not actually *prove* that the earlier pavement exposed in his test, halfway along the Magazine, was continuous with the paved floor that is associated with the jambs. However, at both localities, the earlier pavement lies at depth of only a few centimetres below the later one and has its gypsum slabs blackened by fire. The makeup deposit of the earlier pavement apparently contains small stones (Fig. 5.27b). Mackenzie described the makeup of the later floor as consisting of '*ruddy coloured mortar with tiny fragments of pottery and of coloured stucco*' (80_**D.1923/I:04R**). There seems little doubt that the gypsum wall-linings belong to Mackenzie's second stage, that is, to the WM.2 phase.

A wall with a central doorway constructed across the Long Corridor near its S end was described in some detail by Mackenzie (61_**D.1904:51** and see Fig. 5.30A). The gypsum jambs of the doorway appear similar to those in the magazine entrances. Like them, they are fire-blackened and, as

Mackenzie suggested, it is probable that they belong to the same building phase but were subsequently cut down and, as Evans (1904, 38-9 and see Fig. 5.30B) put it, 'lost in the later pavement'. Cobbled areas in the floor of the Corridor at this point (Fig. 5.30C) may be the remains of foundations for a more elaborate structure than Mackenzie's sketch would indicate. This converted Magazine III into a self-contained room accessible only from the N. The surface of the pavement that corresponded to the jambs was somewhat lower than 100.89m, the height of the present floor nearby according to the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981). The structure is here assigned to the WM.2 phase, as also is the stairway that ascends northwards in the N part of the Long Corridor. Its gypsum treads and the remnants of the earlier pavement, visible in the corridor alongside, are also burnt (Fig. 5.31), presumably by the fire that blackened the earlier pavement in the Magazines.

WM.3 phase

In his third building phase, here termed WM.3, Mackenzie only indicated that the walls of the magazines had been stuccoed. However, Evans (1904, 36) described a wide range of works that were carried out at this time on what he considered to be the Last Palace. Prior to the plastering of the magazine walls, the damaged dado-slabs were cut away and it is possible that, as Mackenzie (79_**D.1923/I:03R**) suggested, some were reused in new floors that were laid down in the Long Corridor and the Magazines at a level of 0.05-0.15m above the earlier burnt paving. At least parts of these later paved floors are still preserved in Magazines IX to XII. In them, it would appear that the cists continued in use, despite having their lining slabs blackened by fire. In some cases, notably cists 4, 5 and 6 from the E in Magazine XII (Fig. 5.32), all the cists in Magazine XI (85_**D.1923/I:13**) and at least some in Magazine V and XIII, the wall slabs of the cists are covered by a thin coating of cement. It is possible that the cement lining is a post-conflagration repair and dates from the time the new floor was laid down. The excavation documents indicate that, in the case of Magazine VIII, which was much damaged by the excavation of Kalokairinos, the later paved floor was laid over the cists.

In a number of magazines, the later flooring, laid directly upon the blackened slabs of the earlier, consisted mainly of a 0.10-0.15m thick layer of white plaster with only a scattering of slabs. The evidence is clearest in Magazines IV and XIII (Fig. 5.33), where small areas of plaster still remain. In Magazines I to III, no pavements survive. Old photographs (Fig. 5.25C, D) suggest that in Magazines V and VI, as in the case of Magazine VIII, the cists may have been floored over. Mackenzie (64_**D.03.05.1900**) noted only that the floor in Magazine V was paved. The slabs of the pavement in Magazine VII, visible in an old photograph (Fig. 5.25D), are obviously related to the cists. On-site inspection shows that the floor is strongly blackened and clearly belongs to the WM.2 phase. There is no information in the excavation documents concerning a later floor in this magazine.

The floor plaster in Magazine XIII seems little different from the remnants of wall plaster that survive in places in most of the magazines. Mackenzie (78-79_**D.1923/I:02R**) described how the wall plaster in Magazine XII passed on to the edge of the later gypsum paving. In Magazine XIII, the wall plaster can be seen resting directly upon the blackened stumps of the gypsum wall linings of the previous period (Fig. 5.34). Elsewhere in the Magazine, as noted by Mackenzie (79_**D.1923/I:03-4**), the wall plaster turned out from the base of the wall to cover the late plaster floor. As can be seen from the old photographs, at the time of excavation, plaster, with its colours still preserved, covered the walls of most magazines to heights of up to 2m in places. It showed no evidence of having been subjected to fire.

Other structures that probably belong to the WM.3 phase are the buttresses that support the N wall of Magazine VII and the S wall of Magazine IX. These were cut deeply into the cists of the earlier phase. Mackenzie observed that the buttress in Magazine IX, like the walls, was covered with coloured wall plaster (66-67_**D.1901/I:12**). Also during the WM.3 phase, the wall between Magazines X and XI was strengthened - work that was carried out after the removal of the gypsum dado slabs, as shown by Mackenzie's detailed investigation in 1923 (90-91_**D.1923:21-23**).

In Magazines IX and X, structures that were interpreted by the excavators as ceilings and investigated with particular care, are presumed to be of the same date as the latest floors and thus belong to the WM.3 phase. In Magazine IX, two layers of red '*cement or plaster flooring*', about 0.35-0.40m apart, were present with between them a layer of what appeared to be a floor of white gypsum cement with small pebbles (67_**D.1901/I:15-16**). The base of the lower of the red cement layers, described by Evans (1901, 37) as burnt, was from 1.70-1.90m above the ground floor of the magazine. A similar layer, 0.08 - 0.10 thick, of red cement, also at a height of about 1.90m, extended across the full width of Magazine X, with above it what was considered to be the surface of a cement floor (68-69_**D.1901/I:18-19**), and see Evans, 1901, 37; Hallager, 1977, 69). The compact layer of red earth at a height of 0.50m in Magazine XV may also be a remnant of a collapsed upper storey floor.

In the Long Corridor, as far N as the foot of the N stairway, the new floor was of gypsum slabs and covered over the cists. The paving slabs were mainly of relatively coarse-grained crystalline gypsum rather than the more usual fine-grained, laminated variety. In the great majority of cases, the original crystalline texture of the gypsum is intact and it is clear that most of the slabs have never been exposed to fire. However, a few of the unburnt slabs in the vicinity of Magazines VIII and IX have been neatly patched with small rectangular pieces of burnt gypsum slabs that could have been recovered from the burnt pavements or wall linings of the WM.2 phase. If the patches were of ancient date, this would constitute evidence that the uppermost paving in the Long Corridor was laid

after fire had damaged its predecessor. Unfortunately, the patches are not mentioned in the excavation documents.

The floor in the Corridor is at a height of 100.85 next to the entrance of Magazine VII but descends northwards to 100.77m at the doorway of Magazine XI (plan of Hood and Taylor, 1981). According to levels on the unpublished plan of 1900 by Fyfe (Fig. 5.18), the floor had descended by only 2 centimetres between the entrance to Magazine IX and a point close to the doorway of Magazine XVII, where its height must have been approximately 100.77m. Thus the floor at the entrance to Magazine XIII that Fyfe measured was about 0.09m higher than the present level of the blackened gypsum threshold slabs in the magazine. The floor visible here at present is the earlier pavement of burnt gypsum slabs. There is evidence that the later floor in Magazine XIII was of plaster. It is possible that, from the entrance of this magazine northward, the later floor of the corridor was of also of plaster, which was removed during the excavation.

WM.4 phase

During this phase, the entrances of Magazines V and VI were narrowed by the construction against their N side of pillars, composed of rubble masonry that contained blocks of burnt stone. In some cases new jambs were fitted. Access to Magazine IV was also constricted, in this case by a massive jamb of gypsum fitted against the anta on the N side of the entrance (*see* Evans, 1904, fig. 12). In Magazine XIII, a new S doorjamb of limestone concealed the earlier gypsum jamb. These structures rest upon the later paving, as observed by Boskamp (1997, 34). Evans referred the narrowing of the doorways to his third phase but Mackenzie (77_**D.1904:51**) described the works as belonging to a separate later period - 'the last palace period' - here termed WM.4.

WM.5 phase

In a fifth construction phase, WM.5, rubble walls were built across the Long Corridor, blocking it in two places. The crosswalls, which were said by Evans (1901, 20) to be 'later fabric', were removed in the course of the excavation. They are visible on Mackenzie's sketches (for example, Fig. 5.35a), on the final plan of the 1900 campaign (Evans, 1900, pl. XIII) and on the old photographs (*see* Fig. 5.35b). The evidence relating to these was considered in detail by Hallager (1977, 35-8) who concluded that Evans was probably right in stating that both walls are later than the Long Corridor pavement that in this account is referred to the WM.3 phase. The exact position of the S crosswall is unknown and it is uncertain whether or not it blocked the doorway that leads from the Magazines area to the eastern part of the West Wing. The final plan of the 1900 excavation (Evans, 1900, pl. XIII and see Fig. 5.30A) indicates that the former was the case and that a large part of the Magazine area was deliberately sealed off during the fifth period. Hallager (1977, 38) suggested that the S wall,

which lay a little to the N of the WM.2 crosswall with central doorway, might be linked with Roman activity but this seems unlikely.

The sequence of construction phases identified in the course of the present study from an examination of the surviving remains in the Magazines area is summarised as follows.

WM.1 phase	The large gypsum antae, the magazine walls and the orthostates of the W Facade
WM.2 phase	The 'ledged' doorjambs, gypsum floor in the magazines and the Long Corridor, the cists and gypsum wall linings, the blocking structure enclosing Magazine III, the stairway in the N part of the Long Corridor. All these structures are strongly affected by fire.
WM.3 phase	Reuse of the early anta-jambs. Dado slabs cut away and walls rendered with plaster. Later floors laid down, sealing the Long Corridor cists and some cists in the magazines. Apart from some slabs that have been reused, the floors are mainly of unburnt gypsum slabs but in some cases are partly or wholly of plaster or 'stucco'. Repairs to some cists. Construction of buttresses in Magazines VII and IX. Strengthening of S wall of Magazine X.
WM.4 phase	Constriction of entrances to magazines IV, V, VI and XIII.
WM.5 phase	Construction of rubble crosswalls in the Long Corridor. These were removed in the course of the excavation and are known only from documentary evidence.

The proposed sequence of structural phases differs from that outlined by Evans (1904, 34-8) only in that the narrowing of the entrances to certain magazines is here assigned to a separate phase.

The pottery

Large storage jars (pithoi), up to a metre or more in height, ranging in date from the Middle Minoan period to the Late Minoan, were present in most of the Magazines and in the Long Corridor. They were present in Magazines IV to XIII inclusive with the exception of Magazines III, which may have had its pithoi removed during excavations prior to that of Evans. The condition of the vessels when found, as described in the excavation documents, is summarised on Table 5.3. There are only 72 boxes of sherds from the Magazines area in the Stratigraphical Museum collection. None of these are from the 1900 campaign; only 14 are dated to 1901 and the majority of these are from a deep test pit into Neolithic strata. Of the remainder, 7 are from tests carried out at various times into the earth filling between the orthostates of the West Facade and 22 are from the investigations beneath the floor of the Long Corridor in 1903.

Popham (1970) reported in detail on the contents of 21 boxes of sherds from stratigraphically significant contexts in the area and commented on others. Hallager (1977) described 6 assemblages from the Magazines area, including 4 of those considered by Popham, and reached essentially the

same conclusions. The sherds in a total of 55 boxes from the Magazines area were inspected in the course of the present study.

Table 5.3. Summary of evidence relating to the pithoi in the W Magazines area[1].

Magazine	Total No.	Condition of pithoi
I	0	
II	0	
III	12	Intact - removed by Kalokairinos, 1878.
IV	13	Some intact
V	>20	12 whole
VI	9	Mostly broken
VII	0	
VIII	<5	Mostly intact
IX	21	18 intact, 2 fallen over, 3 broken
X	9	All but 1 fallen over and partially broken
XI	22	13 whole, 5 partially collapsed, 3 in pieces
XII	20	12 whole and in their place
XIII	13	Some standing, some on their side, all damaged
XIV	0	
XV	0	
XVI	0	
XVII	0	
XVIII	0	
LC	?11	

As illustrated on Fig. 5.36, the deposits laid down in the period following the construction of the deep cists belong to four distinct contexts. The earliest of these occupies the lower compartment of cists that were subdivided in the WM.2 phase. A number of these were opened at various times, notably the second cist from the W in Magazine 4, which was examined in 1901 (63-64_**D.1901/I:36-7**; 64_**AE.1901:04**). According to Mackenzie's Pottery Notebook for that year, this cist contained the following assemblage.

Lot from 4th Magazine, 2nd Kasella from W, E end.

53 common unpainted chiefly of large common vessels and large proportions, wheel made, in some cases, not easy to say whether or not.

28 with broad bands, apparently sometimes spirals in lustreless red varnish with a purplish tint in the rough terracotta of the clay. The handles show that most of the vessels are common amphorae with the rim pinched out for convenience in pouring. Wheel made.

37 with broad bands, sometimes spirals in lustreless black varnish on the rough ground of the terracotta red clay which usually has particles of black stone in it. Wheel made.

2 Fragments Mycenaean, red bowls in lustreless varnish on fine buff clay slip ground belong to much smaller vessel or vessels than the others

[1] The sources of the data are the excavation documents and the BSA Reports.

11 fragments Kamares probably belong to one vessel, running spirals in opaque white on a lustreless black varnish on sooty grey-black clay. No appearance of wheel make.

Handles

7 with broad bands on a lustreless black varnish on the rough buff coloured surface of the terracotta coloured clay - wheel made vessels. 3 of these handles belong to smaller, finer amphorae.

2 with traces of broad bands in lustreless red varnish on the rough surface of the terracotta red clay. Wheel made vessels.

1 Kamares, belonging to vessel to which Kamares fragments previously mentioned belong. Traces of somewhat narrow bands in opaque white on a lustreless black varnish slip with glistening sand particles in it. Hand-made vessel.

7 belonging, most of them, to the amphora above cited.

- 2 have lustreless varnish rim bands on buff ground on terracotta red clay
- 2 have traces of lustreless varnished bands on rough dull terracotta surface of the clay
- 2 have lustreless black varnish slip on dull terracotta clay with black stone particles in it
- 1 finer clay and surface less lustreless brown-to-black rim and body bands on a rather fine buff slip on dull terracotta red clay

1 fragment of Mycenaean cup with terracotta red surface brought out by firing on sooty grey-black clay which comes through at the rim. Wheel made. **PNB I:70-1**.

The sherds, now contained in boxes 541-2, are of MM III date (*see* Popham, 1970, 54). Another assemblage in box 540 - labelled '2nd Kasella from W end of 4th Magazine', but dated to 1904 and therefore of uncertain provenance - consisted mainly of MM III and LM I material but included one sherd of early LM III A date (*see* Popham, 1970, 54). The pottery in Box 547, labelled as containing sherds collected in 1901 from the 7th Kasella in Magazine X, ranged in age from Neolithic to Hellenistic and must be wrongly located or contaminated.

Pottery retained from deposit that forms the makeup for the WM.3 phase floors and infills the cists covered over by them (Deposit II on Fig. 5.36) is more abundant. Sherds recovered from the infill of the cists beneath the floor of the Long Corridor are contained in Boxes 513-527. Of these boxes 514-524 contain sherds of LM II/III date. The latest sherds, in Boxes 518, 519, 522 and 523, which provide a *terminus post quem* for the WM.3 pavement, are of early LM III A date (Popham, 1970, 53). Two joining sherds (Fig. 37a) that made up the base of a jug or storage jar in a rough-textured, orange-buff fabric were found in Box 523 from cist No.6 (D.IV.7) and Box 526 from cist No. 7 (D.IV.8) . A further 20 sherds of this vessel, some joining, were contained in Box 523 and two more were found in Box 522 from cist No.5 (D.IV.6).

Sherds of similar or even later date occur in assemblages in Boxes 550-6, recovered from cists 1-7 in Magazine XIII in1904 when supplementary investigations were carried out (Appendix 3, p. 77-8). There is some uncertainty regarding the exact context of the sherds (Hallager, 1977, 26). It was not stated in the Daybooks that the cists were open when found but it would appear that the late floor in this magazine was of plaster and it may not have been everywhere recognised. All nine cists were

found to have been remodelled and reduced in depth from 1.30 to 0.55m (76-77_**D.1904:50**) and, as it was not stated that the deposit in the upper parts of the cists was cleared in 1901 (72_**D.1901/I:55**), it is uncertain whether the 1904 pottery came from the upper or the lower compartments of the cists. There is evidence, however, that the cists were infilled at a late date using material drawn from the same source as that used to pack the cists in the Long Corridor. Specifically, a sherd in Box 550 from Cist 1, with what appears to a conventionalised octopus design, was referred by Popham (1970, 53) to the second phase of LM III, that is, to the LM III B period. Part of a kylix stem in Box 551 from Cist 2 is of LM III A type and a rim-sherd in Box 553 from Cist 4 is possibly of later LM III A date. As Popham (1970, 52) reported, in Cist 7 (Box 556) there were several fragments of a cup with floral design, one of which joins with a sherd in Box 519 from Cist 4 in the Long Corridor (Fig. 5.37b, c). In the present study, a further join was found between sherds in Box 552 from cist No. 1 and Box 551 from cist No. 2 (Fig. 5.37d). The occurrence of burnt sherds noted by Hallager (1977, 25) suggests that the source of the infill included debris from a destruction by fire, almost certainly that of LM III A date. On the whole, it seems more likely that the pottery was recovered from the infill of the upper compartments of the cists. The composition of the pottery assemblages from the cists in the Corridor and Magazine XIII, in many cases ranging back to the Neolithic and including only a few sherds of the latest period, is consistent with their host deposit being a fill rather than *in situ* destruction debris.

The sherds in Box 548, recovered from tests in 1923, were contained in the makeup deposit of the later, that is, the WM.3 floor, in Magazine XII. According to Popham (1970, 54), the latest sherd is a rim fragment from an 'Ephyrean' goblet of LM II type. The context of other assemblages of pottery that may have come from beneath magazine floors is, however, suspect as Popham (1970, 52) pointed out. Thus, the label on Box 557, which carries no date, indicates that it is from locality D.XVIII 1. According to Pendlebury's catalogue, this box ought to contain material from between two paving slabs in Magazine XIV, which may be interpreted as being from between the slabs of two successive pavements. However, this magazine does not appear to have had even one paved floor (73_**D.1901/I:44**).

The only pottery that might have come from the deposit that lay upon the last floor in the Magazines area, and thus represents Deposit III of Fig. 5.36, is contained in Boxes 544, 559, 561 and 565. Box 544, from Magazine VIII contained sherds from an amphoroid crater of LM III A date, other fragments of which were recovered from the late crosswall in the South Propylaeum (Popham, 1970, 46-7). The latest sherd in Box 559, from Magazine XVI, was a large disc foot of a kylix of LM III date (Popham, 1970, 47). The material in Box 561 from Magazine XVII ranged from LM I to Geometric (Popham, 1970, 48) and has no stratigraphical value. Box 562, said on the label to be from beneath the floor in Magazine XVIII, was considered by Popham (1970, 48) to be from surface deposit. He justified his opinion on the grounds that it contained LM III A sherds whereas

Mackenzie had stated that the pottery found below the upper floor was of LM I A date. However, Hallager (1977, 53) convincingly argued that the material matched an assemblage from the 'Area N of the 18th Magazine' described by Mackenzie in pages 47-8 of his Pottery Notebook for 1901. A sherd in the box joined with one from the N Foundations, a second with a sherd from the late crosswall in the South Propylaeum. There is no pottery that is known to have come from Deposit IV that rested upon the upper storey floors in Magazines IX and X.

Linear B tablets

Linear B tablets were widely dispersed in the Magazines area (Fig. 5.38). It can be inferred with some confidence that those recovered from the Long Corridor and Magazines IX to XII were contained in deposit that covered the WM.3 floors, that is, Deposit III on Fig. 5.36. The tablets from Magazine XV were almost certainly from deposit of the same date. The contexts of the remainder are less secure as the WM.3 pavement in Magazine VIII had been penetrated by Kalokairinos and in the remaining magazines the floors of WM.3 date apparently were not paved.

For the most part the tablets were fragmented or incomplete and occurred in small numbers. Thus, of Magazines II, V and VIII, Mackenzie wrote '*Isolated fragments of inscriptions have been turning up*' (63_**D.02.05.1900**). Tablet fragments in Magazine III were contained in a *'burnt wood deposit of dark sooty colour'* at a depth of 0.30-0.50m from the surface (63_**D.03.04.1900**). Mackenzie noted that in Magazine IX '*The fragments of inscriptions did not form part of any deposit but turned up in isolation*' (67_**D.1901/I:15-16**). The most abundant assemblage of tablets was in Magazine XV, where they occurred almost from the surface to a depth of about 0.50m (73_**D.1901/I:31**).

Table 5.4. Distribution of tablets by selected scribal hands in the Magazines area

	Scribal hands						
	103	**108**	**113**	**115**	**121**	**135**	**208**
LC	x				x	x	
WM2					x		
WM3			x		x		
WM5							x
WM7			x	x			x
WM8	x	x	x	x			x
WM9	x					x	
WM10	x						
WM11	x						
WM12	x						
WM14	x						
WM15	x	x		x			

The tablets in the Magazines area are mostly linked by way of their scribal hands with one another and with those found in the N Entrance Passage (Table 5.4) and it is inferred that they were all were baked in the same conflagration. The only exceptions, Pp 493-499, found in Magazine VIII lying on their backs, side by side 'in a regular file' (Evans, 1900, 25), are linked through their scribal hand 119 with the assemblage from the EW Corridor area in the Domestic Quarter (Chapter 7). It is possible that in this magazine two contexts are present and this coherent group of tablets is of earlier date and was contained in deposit that lay beneath the pavement of the WM.3 phase. It is significant that Magazine VIII was deeply excavated by Kalokairinos, exposing the cists that had been covered by the latest pavement. The investigations that obtained LM III A pottery from cists beneath the late pavement in the Long Corridor, and possibly also in magazine XIII, yielded no tablets. The tablets from the Magazines area are further considered in Chapter 7. A few clay sealings accompanied the tablets in Magazines IX to XIII, XV and XVIII.

Discussion

The documentation of the original excavation of the Magazines area is unusually full and the descriptions of the supplementary investigations of 1904 and 1923 detailed. The five constructional phases recognised here conform to those distinguished by Evans and Mackenzie. The relationships between the structures belonging to all but the last of the phases can still be confirmed by on-site inspection. In these circumstances, the diversity of opinion that exists regarding the dating of the phases might seem surprising.

As Evans and Mackenzie considered that the Magazines had never been reoccupied, this means that, in their view, the final destruction of the Palace occurred after crosswalls (WM.5) had been constructed over the unburnt pavement (WM.3) in the Long Corridor. However, Evans also considered that the final conflagration was responsible for the burning of the pavement and cists in Magazine VI. Thus according to his interpretation, the blackened pavement in Magazine VI, here assigned to the WM.2 phase, and the unburnt pavements of the WM.3 phase in the Corridor and in Magazines VIII to XII were all in use at the time of the final conflagration. While this cannot be ruled out, it seems more logical to correlate the burnt pavement in Magazine VI with the burnt gypsum paving that is still visible beneath the unburnt pavements in Magazines VIII to XII. This interpretation also accords better with Mackenzie's statement (62-3_**D.1903/II:85**) that the pavement in the Long Corridor was laid down at a late date after some catastrophe.

Evans (1921, 453; 454 footnote 1) was aware that pottery of later date than LM II was present in some of the cists and beneath the latest pavement but considered that the late sherds had found their way into earlier contexts when the pavement underwent repairs. Palmer (e.g. 1963, 88-90), however, cited eight locations within the Magazines and the Long Corridor where LM III sherds, including

some of LM III B date, occurred. One of these, the stem of an LM III B kylix, was found beneath the upper pavement in magazine XIV and provided a *terminus post quem* for it. He concluded that the floor was laid during the reconstruction of the Magazines area, and of the Palace as a whole. This must have occurred in the phase here termed WM.3. Palmer denied that the Reoccupation existed and considered that the works here referred to the WM.4 and WM.5 phases were carried out on his 'Last' Palace prior to its destruction in LM III B.

Boardman (1963, 39), rejecting Palmer's view, considered that the late pottery was contaminant introduced during excavations by 'treasure-hunters' and amateur archaeologists. On the basis of an old photograph, he claimed that, prior to the investigations by Evans, the cists beneath the pavement of the Long Corridor had been already plundered. He concluded that there was no evidence that suggested that the Magazines area had been reoccupied following the destruction of the palace in the LM III A period. Descriptions of the excavation by Mackenzie and Evans do not support Boardman's claim that the cists in the Long Corridor were open to contamination. Also, early photographs seem to show that the pavement in the Corridor was intact when first exposed by excavation (e.g. Hallager, 1977, fig. 7).

Popham (1970, 47-53) confirmed that the youngest pottery from the cists that lay beneath the latest paving in the Long Corridor and elsewhere was of late LM III A date. He considered that the floor was laid during repairs carried out prior to the final destruction that occurred shortly afterwards in the same ceramic period. He considered that the stratigraphical contexts of the sporadic LM III B sherds were dubious. Apart from proposing a somewhat later date for the final destruction, his interpretation of the stratigraphy of the Magazines area conforms to that of Evans.

Hallager (1977, 50) dismissed the LM III B kylix cited by Palmer as possibly due to contamination of the boxes in which the sherds were stored but nevertheless concluded that extensive works (of the WM.3 phase), which he dated early in the LM III A period, were carried out in the West Wing 'after some catastrophe to the building' (p. 86). He considered, with Palmer, that the works were part of the general reconstruction of a Palace in which the full administrative function was resumed, prior to a final destruction in the LM III B period. Thus his view differs from Palmer's only in that he dated the structures of the 'Last' Palace - the WM.3 phase - to LM III A rather than to LM III B.

Hallager considered that pottery other than the great storage jars was scarce in the Magazines area at the time of the LM III B destruction because the area was used primarily for storage and administrative purposes. He noted that at least half of what little pottery was preserved from the area was earlier than might have been expected if the date of the final destruction was LM III A1/2. He pointed out that the sherd pottery indicated a date of occupation of LM III A for areas elsewhere in

the palace where intact vessels of LM III B date occurred. He concluded from this that the LM III A sherd pottery, for the most part, was obtained from materials used as fill. In support of his case for an LM III B date for the destruction of the rebuilt Magazines area, he quoted the intact vessels recovered from the Magazines by Kalokairinos (Hallager, 1977, 81-5).

The stratigraphic conclusions reached by Raison (1993) conform, in general, to those of Mackenzie and Evans. Boskamp (1997, 35) commented that, in Magazine VII, 'the condition of the early pavement and the kasellas is similar. Both are badly damaged, not to say destroyed, by a most destructive fire'. His suggestion that, despite the similarity in their appearance, the cists and the pavements were damaged during two different catastrophes is hard to justify.

The conclusion reached from the present examination of the Magazines area is that the evidence of the surviving remains is explicit. There seems be no reasonable doubt that the works of the WM.3 building phase - the cutting away of the gypsum wall linings, the repairs to some cists and the covering of others by a new pavement of gypsum slabs - were carried out after a devastating fire. Unfortunately, the date when unburnt gypsum slabs of the uppermost floor in the Long Corridor were patched with pieces of burnt gypsum is uncertain, as this would have constituted evidence that the pavement had been laid after the fire. Assuming that the pottery reserved from the excavation is correctly located, it is safe to conclude that the fire occurred during the LM III A:2 period, as some sherds of that date are scorched (Hallager, 1977, 25). Such sherds in sub-floor contexts provide a *terminus post quem* for the late structures here assigned to the WM.3 phase that is not inconsistent with Palmer's contention that they date to the LM III B period.

Evans arrived at a radically different interpretation. Throughout the Magazines area, he selected as his destruction horizon the uppermost paved floor that was apparently connected with still functional cists and overlain by deposit that contained Linear B tablets in association with burnt timber. Undoubtedly, in his mind, the tablets were indissolubly linked with a Palace that he believed to have been destroyed by fire at the end of the LM II period. Seemingly this enabled him to ignore the fact that in some cases the deposit with tablets was contained in rooms with wall plaster that retained its colour and had floors paved with mainly unburnt gypsum slabs or that were composed of plaster. Mackenzie's failure to record in his account of the investigations of 1923 that, in several magazines, the stumps of the gypsum dado-slabs, covered by the latest pavement, were thoroughly fire-blackened, like the earlier pavement, here referred to the WM.2 phase, with which they were associated, is inexplicable.

The interpretation of the stratigraphy proposed here, means that, regardless of whether the Magazines area was rebuilt late in the LM III A period or early in LM III B, the structures of the

WM.3 toWM.5 phases fall into the Reoccupation Period as it was envisaged by Evans. This does not mean that all the stratigraphical evidence in the area is readily explained. Thus, there is the paradox that, whatever its date, the deposit with baked clay tablets and charred wood, that is evidently the product of a destruction by fire, infills rooms the floors and walls of which show no sign of having been subjected to the action of fire. Furthermore, the absence of signs of burning of the latest structures, such as the pavements, wall plaster and the masonry blocks that constrict the entrances of Magazine IV and V, is problematic in view of the widespread evidence in the palace presented here that the Reoccupation was terminated by a conflagration. Yet another problem is that the latest sherds in pottery assemblages from above and below the WM.3 floors are of essentially the same date and include few if any of LM III B date. Finally, there is the difficulty, like that encountered in the Domestic Quarter, of accounting for the quantity of deposit that lay over the WM.3 pavements and explaining how, in some magazines, it had made its way beneath ceilings that had apparently survived intact.

The thickness of deposit covering the floors of Magazines VI to X at the time of excavation in places exceeded 2m (for example 65_**D.25.04.1900**) but diminished westwards. The total area of the floor in these magazines is about 155.4 m^2; the area occupied by walls, including the full thickness of the S wall of Magazine VI and the N wall of Magazine XII, is about 117m^2. If the material contained in a metre's height of wall was distributed evenly over the magazines' floors, the thickness of deposit would amount to 0.75m or a little more if allowance is made for the looser packing of the fallen rubble. To generate a 2m thickness of fall deposit would thus require that the upper floor had been occupied by magazines of similar layout to those on the ground floor and having 3m high walls. However, Evans (1935, fig. 605) sited a great hall over Magazines VI to X (*see* Fig. 5.39). If *all* the material contained in the walls of the postulated hall, taken to have been 3m high, was evenly distributed over the magazine floors, the thickness of deposit generated would amount to about 1.5m. At least some of the debris from the upper storey walls must have fallen outwards, however, and the deposit would naturally have concentrated close to the position of the upper storey walls with only small amounts of material reaching the centres of the rooms, were, as the excavation evidence in fact suggests, the upper storey ceilings would have collapsed directly on to the floors beneath. It is in any case improbable that the ceilings of Magazines IX and X could have survived a devastating fire intact and, if they had, that upper storey debris could have completely infilled the space beneath them.

It was argued in Chapter 4 that the survival *in situ* of upper storey structures in the Domestic Quarter was due to the deliberate packing of the ground rooms with deposit. It is proposed here that the palace occupants had been forced to take similar drastic measures in the Reoccupation Period to prolong the life of the upper storey structures in the Magazines area. It is possible that the Long Corridor was also packed with deposit and that the purpose of the crosswalls of the WM.5 phase was

to contain the packing material. An obvious source for this material is the debris cleared from the palace destroyed in LM III A. It use would account for the presence of LM III A sherds above the WM.3 floor and explain the absence of intact vases of LM III B date. If the magazines were packed prior to the final destruction, this would explain the relatively good state of preservation of the pithoi, especially those in Magazines IV to XIII that lie between the late rubble walls that obstructed the Long Corridor. The sagging of the ceilings along the axes of Magazines IX and X (Evans, 1901, 37) can be attributed to differential compaction of the packing material.

If the Magazines were deliberately packed, this would account for the excessive quantity of material present. Also, it would explain how, in rooms that still had their ceilings preserved, deposit containing baked Linear B tablets and fragments of burnt wood came to lie against walls and rest upon floors that show no signs of having been affected by fire. The presence of such an infill would have protected these surfaces from the effects of the conflagration that is inferred from evidence elsewhere in the palace to have brought the Reoccupation to a virtual close in the LM III B period. This means that, if a fire of this date did indeed affect the Magazines area, the logical place to look for signs of it is at ceiling level and above. The surviving magazine walls are composed mainly of rubble masonry with very large blocks but this gives way at a height of about 2m to smaller rubble with earth and mud brick (Fig. 5.40; Shaw, 1973, 90). The transition may mark the level of the upper storey floors and correspond to the surviving remnants of the ceilings of Magazines IX and X that were found still at their original position of 1.90m above the floor. The earth in the upper parts of the magazine walls is terracotta coloured and indurated, seemingly through the action of fire. According to Evans (1901, 37) the floor over Magazine IX included 'a burnt clay band with the core of a cylindrical crossbeam impressed in it'. In Magazine X, part of the makeup of the upper storey floor consisted of a clay layer burnt to 'brick-like consistency' (Evans, 1901, 37). Thus there is some evidence, in at least part of the Magazines area, that the *upper* storey structures had been affected by fire, in contrast to the ground floor rooms, which at the time of excavation appeared unburnt.

There remains the problem of the distribution of the Linear B tablets. According to the hypothesis advanced here, they must have been introduced into the magazines as a component of the packing material. If so, they obviously cannot have been baked by the fire that destroyed the upper storey rooms. However, it cannot be assumed that the tablets were baked in the conflagration of LM III A that blackened the cists and the associated pavements, wall linings and doorjambs. Although this cannot be ruled out, no tablets are known to have been recovered from the makeup deposits of the WM.3 floors, with the possible exception of the coherent set, Pp 493-499, found in Magazine VIII. This suggests that the fire that baked the tablets occurred in the period following the construction of the WM.3 floors but preceding the fire that accompanied the final destruction of LM III B date. The baking of the tablets must also have predated the packing of the magazines.

The most reasonable explanation of the composition of the infill is that it is of mixed origin. Part of it, containing burnt LM III A sherds, was derived from the LM III A destruction debris. The remainder, including the Linear B tablets, consisted of debris produced when parts of the palace were affected by a fire of somewhat later date, prior to the LM III B destruction. An event of some kind, perhaps of seismic origin but accompanied by fire, that caused widespread but minor damage to the palace, may well have been the reason for the measures taken to stabilise the structures in the Magazines area. The poor quality of the evidence means that no definite solution to this problem is possible.

The West Wing - Summary

The stratigraphical relations of the structures still visible in the W Magazines area (*see* Table 5.5), especially those that concern the present study, are unambiguous. A fire-damaged gypsum pavement at a height of about 100.70-80m that is associated with blackened gypsum doorjambs, cists and wall linings is overlain by a floor which, in most of the area, consists of gypsum slabs showing little sign of having been burnt. This later floor, of the WM.3 phase, is at a height of about 100.89m at the S end of the Long Corridor but descends gradually towards the north. Deposit lying between the two floors and infilling the cists yielded sherds that are agreed to be of LM III A date. Linear B tablets Pp 493-499 from Magazine VIII may have been contained in the makeup for this floor. Parts of the makeup deposit probably still survive *in situ*, for example, beneath the WM.3 floors in Magazines IX to XII.

A pavement composed of burnt '*the worn and blackened*' gypsum slabs (52-53_**D.1923/I:29R, 30L**) in the western part of the Room of the Chariot area is at a similar height, about 100.80m, to the WM.2 gypsum pavement in the Long Corridor, only a few metres away, and is almost certainly of the same date. In the Room of the Chariot Tablets area, a poorly preserved gypsum floor at a similar level occurs in the Room of the Stone Vases and at the entrance to the Lobby of the Stone Seat. Further investigations might determine its relations with earlier floors.

In the period following the fire of LM III A:2, the damaged structures throughout the West Wing were repaired or rebuilt, during the early part of the 'Reoccupation Period', here termed the RP1 phase (Fig. 5.41). In the Room of the Chariot Tablets area, new room spaces were created by means of slanting rubble walls. Floors, some incorporating reused gypsum slabs, were laid down. In the Room of the Chariot Tablets, the makeup for the floor of this date contained large numbers of inscribed tablets. The Central Court pavement was raised in this phase, leading to the construction of the uppermost two steps at the entrance to the Antechamber to the Throne Room and the installation of the steps into the Lobby of the Stone Seat. The frescoed plaster on walls of the Throne Room itself may date to this period. In the Magazines area the new works comprise the structures of the third and

Table 5.5. Outline of stratigraphy proposed for the West Wing

W Magazines area	Room of Chariot Tablets area	Throne Room area	Date
WM.5 phase Construction of rubble crosswalls in the Long Corridor; packing of magazines with deposit containing tablets. **WM.4 phase** Doorways of some magazines constricted.	**RCT.4 phase** Threshold and associated floor at 101.33 in Room of the Chariot Tablets and Room of the Stone Vases. 'House' tablets in CoHT	**TRS.5 phase** (=CA.4) Buttressing of S wall of Antechamber; construction of stairway to upper storey	LM III B (RP2 phase)
WM.3 phase Gypsum wall linings replaced by plaster. Later floor of gypsum slabs or plaster at 100.80-90, with tablets Pp 493-499 in its makeup in WM8. Cists repaired. Construction of buttresses in WM7and WM9; S wall of WM10 strengthened.	**RCT.3 phase** Slanting walls of Room of Chariot Tablets, including the 'seat'. Modification of gypsum antae in EW Corridor. 'Chariot' tablets in makeup deposit for floor at 101.33-5m. 'Oil' tablets in makeup for floor at 100.80 (LoSS)	**TRS.4 phase** (=CA.3) Placement of upper two steps of Antechamber entrance in response to second raising of Central Court (101.30)	LM III B (RP1 phase)
---- fire of LM III A:2 ----			LM II - LM III A (Last Palace of Evans)
WM.2 phase Gypsum floor (burnt) at 100.70-80. Ledged doorjambs; cists; gypsum wall linings. Early crosswall with central doorway.	**RCT.2 phase** 'Mosaiko' floor in Lobby of the Stone Seat at c. 100.67m and in the Court of the Altar. Gypsum floor (burnt) at 100.67.in EW magazines W of RChT	**TRS.3 phase** (=CA.2) Antechamber constructed in line with later W Facade of Central Court. Infilling of gypsum 'corridor'. First raising of Central Court (101.10)	
WM.1 phase Construction of the magazines with large gypsum anta-jambs.	**RCT.1 phase** Multiple doorway systems Early pavement in Court of the Altar and Lobby of the Stone Seat.	**TRS.2 phase** Alterations to lustral basin; construction of benches Second gypsum surround (100.75m).Throne Room connected with gypsum 'corridor' of Cists Area. (=CA.1C) **TRS.1phase** Construction of lustral basin; loculus'; ?'mosaiko' pavement at 100.77m	MM - LM I

perhaps also the fourth building phase. The floor cists in some magazines were repaired; others may have had their lining slabs covered with cement. Some walls were thickened or supported by

buttresses. Burnt gypsum wall linings were cut away and new floors were laid over their stumps. The walls were covered with a thick layer of plaster and painted.

It is considered that later in the 'Reoccupation Period', in the RP2 phase, works of essentially remedial nature were carried out, presumably in response to damage caused to the fabric of the building. The works consist of buttressing structures, rubble walls and door blockings. It is suggested that in some cases the purpose of these was to confine deposit with which certain ground floor rooms of the West Wing were deliberately packed (Fig. 5. 42), thereby, converting the ground floor of the building into a platform for the support of upper storey rooms. Access to these was provided by the construction of a new staircase that ascended from the Central Court. It is not clear why repairs to the building on such a wide scale became necessary. There is no evidence that the walls of the rooms had been affected by fire before they were packed and it is perhaps most likely that the damage was the result of seismic shock, although shoddy construction and inadequate foundations may have been contributory, or even the main, factors.

The packing material consisted mainly of debris from the destruction of LM III A2 date and it is reasonable to assume that, when the rooms were infilled, any portable objects of value would have been removed. This would explain the absence of artifacts of LM III B date that led Mackenzie and Evans to conclude that some parts of the West Wing, and in particular the Magazines area, had not been reoccupied. The earth packing would have protected walls and floors of the West Wing rooms from the fire at the end of the RP2 phase that left its mark in rooms and corridors elsewhere in the palace. The lack of evidence to suggest that the works of the RP2 phase were the response to a conflagration makes it difficult to account for occurrence of the Linear B tablets in the packing material. A possible explanation is that in the period before the RP2 phase works were carried out, the archive had been maintained in separate buildings within or adjacent to the palace and the fire that baked the inscriptions did not affect the palace as a whole. The debris of the archival rooms was subsequently incorporated in the structures of the RP2 phase.

Chapter 6

THE NORTH FRONT

The structures of the North Front of the palace were first encountered on 25 April 1900 when the excavation revealed the N boundary wall of the large open space now called the Central Court and the initial phase of their investigation was completed in the following year. Mackenzie's descriptions of the excavation lack detail but nevertheless provide evidence for the existence of several building phases and a variety of late structures. For convenience the N Front region is here subdivided into three areas (Fig. 6.1). Of these, the most important are the cluster of small rooms assigned to the Room of the Lotus Lamp area, also known as the Prisons Area, and the complex of structures that constitute the N Entrance. In both of these areas, Linear B tablets were found in stratigraphical sequences that also contained almost intact vessels of LM III B date. However, as a result of unsystematic excavation coupled with inadequate record keeping, the relations of structures with one another are commonly obscure and the contexts of finds uncertain. Despite this, it is clear that the area was inhabited during the 'Reoccupation Period' and there are structures and deposits representative of the RP1 and RP2 phases identified elsewhere on the site. From the widespread evidence of scorchmarks, it is clear that a fire terminated the second of these phases. Uniquely in the Palace site, there is evidence that after the fire there was a limited occupation of the part of the North Front that Evans referred to as the 'Area of Late Habitation'.

Area A. The Room of the Lotus Lamp area

In the area, which was referred to throughout the campaign of 1900 as the threshing floor area, the walls and floors of a number of small rooms were uncovered (Fig. 6.2). The information that relates to the campaign of 1900 provided by Mackenzie's Daybook is sparse and imprecise. His only sketch, dated 11 May (*see* Fig. 6.3a), shows the state of the excavation when work in the area had ended for the season but the general layout of the rooms was established at an earlier date (96_**D.08.05.1900**). Mackenzie's sketch is almost identical to an unpublished plan of Fyfe that gives a few useful levels (Fig. 6.3b) and to the final plan of the campaign (Evans, 1900, pl. XIII). None of the entries in either version of Mackenzie's Daybook for 1900 refer to the rooms by name. However, the rooms were given names on a sketch in Evans notebook dated to 4 May 1900 (Fig. 6.3c). On this sketch, the northern part of a NS wall that divides the Room of the Lotus Lamp was said to be later and was distinguished by its ornament from the other walls.

Excavation of the area continued in the early part of the 1901 campaign with investigations beneath the floor uncovered in the previous year. A second floor was discovered with, beneath it, walls belonging to two earlier construction phases. The main events of the campaigns of 1900 and 1901 are summarised on Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Timetable of excavations in the Room of the Lotus Lamp area, 1900 and 1901

30 April 1900	Discovery of spiral volutes in relief (Room of the Spiral Cornice). (93_**D.30.04.1900**).
4 May 1900	Discovery of floor in Room of Lotus Lamp at 1m below ground surface. Stone lamp resting on floor. Discovery of Linear B tablets extending along W wall boundary of Room of the Stirrup Jars. (94_**D.04.05.1900**).
5 May 1900	Discovery of a perforated, disc-like tray (strainer), painted with concentric circles, in Room of the Saffron Gatherer. (95_**D.05.05.1900**).
8 May 1900	Discovery of more inscriptions along W wall of Room of the Stirrup Jars. Discovery of at least 6 amphorae and stirrup jars 'on the floor'. Discovery of cement floor with layer of tough clay resting upon it. (96_**D.08.05.1900**).
9 May 1900	Cement floor in Room of the Stirrup Jars said to be 2m below ground surface and 0.90m below level of threshing floor. (96_**D.09.05.1900**).
10 May 1900	The floor in the Room of the Lotus Lamp said to be at a depth of 1.50 below ground surface (93-94_**D.10.05.1900**). Like that in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer, it was at a higher level than the floor in the Room of the Stirrup Jars. Stone basin found (93_ **D.09.05.1900**). W wall of Room of the Lotus Lamp discovered, with doorway into Room of the Knobbed Pithos.
11 May 1900	Mackenzie's sketch of Room of Lotus Lamp area (**D.11.05.1900R** *see* Fig. 6.3a). This shows E walls of the Room of the Stirrup Jars and the Room of the Knobbed Pithos and confirms that the N wall of the Room of the Saffron Gatherer was missing.
8 April 1901	The cement floor in Room of the Saffron Gatherer said to be at a depth of 0.50 below the level of threshing floor. Later excavation beneath the cement floor revealed a second floor, of cement with some gypsum slabs, a further 0.40m lower down, that is, at a depth beneath the threshing floor of 0.90m. (95_**D.1901/I:67-8**).
9 April 1901	A NS-trending wall found at a depth of 0.10m below cement-and-gypsum slab floor in Room of the Saffron Gatherer. The wall went down 0.40m and rested on EW wall of the Early Keep. (95_**D.1901/I:69-70**).
17 April 1901	EW wall [?of Early Keep] found at depth of 0.25m below floor in Room of the Stirrup Jars and still going down at depth of 1.35 below floor. (96_**D.1901/I:75**).
20 April 1901	Floor in Room of the Stirrup Jars said to be about 0.90m below level of Central Court paving. The N and S walls of cell of the Early Keep excavated. (97_**D.1901/I:80**).
25 April 1901	Further exploration of walls of the Early Keep in Room of the Stirrup Jars and Room of the Saffron Gatherer. (97_**D.1901/II:08-9**).

Further investigations within the area in 1903 and especially 1923 (*see* Fig.6.4) were aimed at elucidating the relationships of the earliest structures with one another and were of limited extent. As a

result, while the information given in Mackenzie's Daybooks permits a sequence of several building phases to be recognised, the complete layout of the rooms at each stage cannot be determined.

Although of nondescript character, being constructed of rubble masonry throughout, this suite of rooms is important because, in one of them, according to Evans (1935, 736), there was decisive evidence that linked the Linear B tablets found there with the destruction of the 'Last Palace' as he defined it. However, Palmer (1961b) rejected Evans interpretation of the evidence, arguing that, as in other areas within the Palace, the context of the tablets was the debris of a palace that was built and destroyed during the LM III B period. From the present study, it is concluded that, in the area, there are structures belonging to at least two construction phases that post-date the destruction of the 'Last Palace' in the LM III A period. The Linear B tablets occur in a deposit that almost certainly is datable to the LM III B period. The fire that baked the tablets, however, was not that which scorched walls and floors in the N Entrance area and elsewhere in the palace.

Outline of stratigraphy

As a result mainly of the detailed investigation of the Room of the Lotus Lamp area in 1923, Mackenzie identified walls and floors belonging to four construction phases and distinguished them on a detailed sketch (*see* Fig. 6.4). He outlined the following stratigraphy (98_**D.1903/II:82**).

1. *A pre-palace Middle Minoan Period represented by cell walls* [the Early Keep]
2. *1st Palace period, the pithos and the pottery found with it*
3. *2nd Palace period represented by stratum above pithos and coming up to 2nd palace floor level*
4. *Period of decline and partial habitation represented by a late palace floor and deposit to be co-ordinated with that which contained the late Bugelkannen in the excavation of 1900.*

It is clear, however, from Mackenzie's descriptions, that the last of his phases comprises structures belonging to two separate building episodes. Accordingly, in this account, five main construction phases are identified that, for convenience, are here designated RLL.1 - 5 and illustrated on Figs. 6.5a-d. The information that relates to the structures of the later phases is mostly contained in the Daybooks that describe the excavations of 1900 and 1901.

The correlation of the floors recognised in the excavation plays an important role in determining the stratigraphical sequence and here their levels are reduced to a common datum, that which Hood and Taylor (1981) used when preparing their plan of the Palace (Table 6.2). It should be noted that, despite their seeming accuracy, the heights of many of the floors must be regarded as approximate as calculation of their heights involves the rough estimates given in the Daybooks of Mackenzie. As was his custom, in his Daybooks Mackenzie generally defined the position of the floors in relation to the pre-excavation ground surface, the height of which is not known. Unusually, in the case of the

Table 6.2. Summary of height data contained in Mackenzie's Daybooks and Fyfe's Survey Book for 1903 (p. 82-3) [1]. Heights recalculated with reference to datum of Hood and Taylor (1981).

Room	Composition	Level	Height
Saffron Gatherer (**RoSG**)	White cement	0.50m below threshing floor	100.48
	Cement with slab of burnt [2] gypsum	0.40m below upper floor in **RoSG**; 0.21m below **RoLLW** plaster floor	100.08 (*99.91)
Stirrup Jars (**RoSJ**)	Clay[3]	c. 0.20 above **RoSJ** cement floor	c. 100.28
	Cement (terrazza)	0.90m below threshing floor; 0.90m below **CC** paving	c. 100.08
	Unknown		*99.75
	Unknown		*99.44
Lotus Lamp - W (**RoLLW**)	Plaster	0.08m above threshold slab in N wall; 0.21m above **RoSG** lower floor	100.29
Lotus Lamp - E (**RoLLE**)	?top of step **c**		*100.57
	Clay and plaster	0.43 below level of **CC**	*100.35
	?Clay/earth		100.29 *100.31
	Gypsum slabs [4]	0.80m below **CC** paving	* 100.18
Spiral Cornice (**RoSC**)	Unknown		*100.35
	Paving	0.23 below **RoLLE** paved floor	99.95 *99.91
Knobbed Pithos (**RoKP**)	Stucco		*100.21
	Base of pithos		*99.66) or 99.80)
Room S of **RoKP**	unknown		*100.08
	unknown		*99.56
Central Court (**CC**)	Limestone slabs		100.98

Room of the Lotus Lamp area, he also defined the level of floors in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer and the adjacent Room of the Stirrup Jars by reference to the surface of a modern threshing floor that had lain over them. Fyfe's Survey Books provide levels for a number of the floors described by

[1] Measurements marked by an asterisk are from a sketch of Fyfe (1903, p. 82-3) reproduced as Fig. 6.6. Fyfe's levels are related to a datum, 1.38m above the Central Court pavement, which is considered to have been at a height of approximately 102.16m according to the datum of Hood and Taylor (1981). The levels are considered to be accurate to ±2-3 centimetres.

[2] See Woodard (1972, 116).

[3] Note: the 0.20m thick clay layer may not be a floor but part of the makeup deposit for a higher floor.

[4] See Woodard (1972, 115).

Mackenzie and for other features that can still be recognised. It is possible to relate, to within a few centimetres, Fyfe's datum to that used by Hood and Taylor (1981) and thereby determine the approximate heights of most of the floor surfaces described in the excavation documents.

RLL.1 phase - The Early 'Keep'. [= Phase 1 of Mackenzie].

A possible foundation structure (99_**D.1923/II:03**) consisting of a series of thick walls of small-block, well-coursed rubble masonry enclosing a number of small rectangular cells up to 7m deep (Fig. 6.7 and see Evans, 1921, 136-9).

Comment. The cells were infilled in preparation for new construction not earlier than the end of MM II and possibly not until MM III (Branigan, 1992; 1995). The masonry resembles that of the foundation walls in the NW angle of the Palace, one block of which carries a lightly incised mason's mark in the form of a trident (*see* Fig. 6.8) like those on the ashlar blocks of the W wall of the N Entrance Passage. It is possible that both foundation structures are of early Neopalatial date although pottery recovered from the fill behind the walls of the NW angle is no later than EM III (Catling, 1974). If the purpose of the structures was to extend the usable area of the Palace platform, construction of the cells and their infilling may have been part of the same building operation.

RLL.2 phase - walls using structures of the Early Keep as foundations. [= Phase 2 of Mackenzie].

These include wall **2** on Mackenzie's sketch, here redrawn as Fig. 6.4 (*and see* Fig. 6.5a). This wall bounded the Room of the Knobbed Pithos on the N, where it was visible to a height of up to 0.50m, and continued E at this height into the Room of the Lotus Lamp for a distance of about a metre. Further E in the Room of the Lotus Lamp, wall **2** had been reduced in height in a later phase and was covered by the gypsum slabs of a later pavement (Fig. 6.9) that is at a height of 100.18m[1]. The eastwards continuation of the wall as the N wall of the Room of the Spiral Cornice lay beneath a floor that was 0.23m lower than that in the Room of the Lotus Lamp (103-104_**D.1923/II:10-11**).

A NS wall discovered beneath the lower of two cement floors in the Room of the Flower Gatherer in 1901 (95_**D.1901/I:69-70**) may be of the same date as wall **2** as it also rested upon the walls of the Early Keep. The position of the wall is not known except that it lay in the W part of the room and it was perhaps a precursor of the wall with doorway that divided the room from the Room of the Stirrup Jars at the time of the initial clearance in 1900.

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[1] According to the most recent measurements. W Taylor, *personal communication.*

Comment. Wall **2** divided the Room of the Lotus Lamp area into a northern and southern section. In the N part, the NS-trending wall of the 1901 investigations was 0.40m high and had its top at a depth of 0.10m beneath the lower of two cement floors uncovered in the E part of the Room of the Saffron Gatherer (97_**D.1901/I:69-70**). As the height of the cement floor was 100.08m (Table 6.2), the base of the wall was at 95.58m. The stratigraphical position of the wall and its relation to the cement floor that later covered it are comparable with those that wall **2** has with regard to the gypsum paving in the Room of the Lotus Lamp, suggesting that the two floors are of the same date.

The pithos found in the Room of the Knobbed Pithos was said by Evans (1903, 25) to date to the early phase of the Later Palace - that is, to the MM III A/LM I period. This suggests that the E and S walls of the room also belong to the RLL.2 phase (*see* Fig. 6.5a). The pithos had been cut down to a height of 0.40m (Evans, 1930, 23) and a new floor laid over it at a height of 100.08m (Table 6.2), as recalculated from data on the sketch plan of Fyfe (*see* Fig. 6.10).

The builders of the RLL.2 phase walls were obviously aware of the layout of the Early Keep. If this was built purely to serve as a foundation structure, it is possible that it and the RLL.2 walls belong to the same building phase.

RLL.3 phase - walls with deep foundations penetrating cells of Early Keep. [= Phase 3 of Mackenzie].

According to Mackenzie the walls of the next construction phase were sited without reference to the structures of the Early Keep and were typified by the strong EW wall (**3** on Figs. 6.4 and 6.5b) that was set alongside wall **2** to its N (99-100_**D.1923/II:04**). The wall penetrated the fill of the cells of the Early Keep to a depth of about 6m. A NS wall, numbered **4** in the Daybook text but not identifiable from his sketch, was thought by Mackenzie (104-105_**D.1923/II:12**) to be in 'systematic connection' with wall **3**. The wall is perhaps the E wall of the Room of the Flower Gatherer, numbered 9 on Mackenzie's sketch **D.1903/II:82** (Fig. 6.7). The NS walls 7 and 8 on the same sketch, that bound the Rooms of the Stirrup Jars and of the Knobbed Pithos on their W and E sides, were also, in the accompanying text, said to penetrate deeply into the cells. However, this was contradicted in a note on the sketch and these walls apparently belong to a later phase. The excavators did not explicitly identify the floor that corresponded to wall **3** but it seems clear that Mackenzie took the floor of this phase to be represented by the gypsum slabs at 100.18m in the E part of the Room of the Lotus Lamp. It is this floor that covered the cut down remains of wall **2** of the RLL.2 phase.

In the Room of the Saffron Gatherer, the floor of the RLL.3 phase is taken to be the lower of two floors excavated in 1900 (Table 6.1). The floor, variously described as being of cement or 'terrazza', was at a height of 100.08m. The floor incorporated a gypsum block that may be the

surviving remnant of an earlier floor. Mackenzie considered that the corresponding terrazza floor in the Room of the Stirrup Jars was at a level 0.30m higher. However, no floor at this level was reported in the original excavation documents nor is one shown at this level on a sketch by Evans (1903, fig. 14) that illustrates the succession of strata penetrated in the Room of the Stirrup Jars. Mackenzie described the terrazza of the floor as being impregnated with small river pebbles and palatial in character. He considered that the short flight of steps that ascended to the Central Court from the SE corner of this room also belonged to this phase (100-101_**D.1923/II:05**) but noted that, if it did, its lowest step must have been removed in antiquity.

Comment. During this phase a wall divided the area into a N and S section. There is no indication that the N section was partitioned at this time and it appears to have consisted of a single room. However, it seems safe to assume that the area S of wall **3** was divided by a NS wall as the floor in the W, consisting of reused gypsum slabs, was at a level of 100.18m, whereas, the corresponding floor in the E was 0.23m lower. Both floors had been constructed over the cut down remains of the RLL.2 wall **2**. The investigations of 1923 indicated that the NS wall labelled **5** on Fig. 6.4 was composite and consisted of an earlier element on the E that lay alongside the SE stairway and a later one, on the W, that partially covered its treads (*see* Fig. 6.5 c, d). It is the earlier of the two components of wall **5** that is considered to have divided the Room of the Spiral Cornice from the Room of the Lotus Lamp.

The floor of thick gypsum slabs in the E part of the Room of the Lotus Lamp is still visible (Fig. 6.9). As noted by Woodard (1972, 115) and confirmed by on-site inspection in the present study, the surface of the slabs shows evidence of burning. The paving was said to be 0.80m below that of the Central Court which, according to a recent measurement, is at a height of 100.98m close to the top of the SE stairway. A height for the pavement of 100.18 is in good agreement with a level of 100.17 on the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981). Fyfe recorded a floor in the Room of the Knobbed Pithos at a height of 100.22 and another at 100.18m in the space to the S of this room (Table 6.2). In the Room of the Spiral Cornice, what is taken to be the corresponding floor, as it covers the stump of wall **2,** was at a height of 99.95m (Table 6.2).

According to Mackenzie's original description, the lower of the two cement floors in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer, here taken to be the floor of the RLL.3 phase, was at a depth of 0.90m below the level of the modern threshing floor (95_**D.1901/I:67-8**). The Daybook for 1900 recorded only one floor of cement in the Room of the Stirrup Jars. This floor was said (96_**D.09.05.1900**) also to be 0.90m lower than the threshing floor (*see* Fig. 6.10) and also 0.90m below the level of the E Paved area, that is, the Central Court (97_**D.1901/I:80**)[1]. The terrazza floors in the two rooms were thus at a

[1] Note that the modern threshing floor and the paving of the Central Court were at similar levels.

level of about 100.08m, strongly suggesting that they were of the same date. It would appear that Mackenzie's later statement (104-105_**D.1923/II:12**.) that the terrazza floor in the Room of the Stirrup Jars was 0.30m higher than that in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer was mistaken.

Mackenzie considered that the short flight of steps down N from the Central Court to the SE corner of the Room of the Lotus Lamp was connected with the floor of gypsum slabs. As the base of the lowest preserved step was higher than the surface of the paving (101-102_**D.1923/II:07**), he concluded that a step had been removed when the stair subsequently went out of use. However, the base of the gypsum block that flanks the steps on their E side (Figs. 6.11a) is only a few centimetres more than 0.72m below the level of the Central Court paving whereas the gypsum paving of the Room of the Lotus Lamp was 0.80m below its level. Thus, the base of the block was also several centimetres above the level of the gypsum paving. It is inferred therefore that the block and step **a** of the stair were not related to the gypsum paving but to a floor at a higher level belonging to a later phase.

RLL.4 phase - walls with shallow foundations. [= Phase 4 of Mackenzie, in part].

The walls of this phase went down only 1.45 - 1.50m from their tops. In this category, Mackenzie in his Daybook (99-100_**D.1923/II:04**) included walls numbered 4, 5 and 7. As indicated above, there are no walls labelled with numbers 4 and 7 on his sketch **D.1923/II:1a** (*see* Fig. 6.4). However, the wall labelled 7 and the N end of wall 8 on an earlier sketch **D.1903/II:82** (Fig. 6.7), that form the E and W walls of the Room of the Stirrup Jars, were said to go down only 1.50m and are here assigned to the RLL.4 phase.

Wall **5** on the later sketch (Fig. 6.4) is a composite structure. It has been argued above that its eastern element dates from the preceding RLL.3 phase - its western component is assigned to the RLL.5 phase. However, wall **6** on the sketch, that penetrated the gypsum slab pavement (103-104_**D.1923/II:10**), may also, at least in part, date from the RLL.4 phase. In the backfill of its foundation trench, at a depth of 0.32m below pavement level, sherds belonging to an LM II pithos were found (103-104_**D.1923/II:10**) that provide a *terminus post quem* for its construction. In places, at its N end, however, its blocks rested directly upon the gypsum slab pavement of the E part of the room although elsewhere a layer of clay up to 0.07m thick intervened (103_**D.1923/II:09**). Evidently the wall had been modified at a later date. In general, the walls of the RLL.4 phase, apart from remnants surviving from earlier phases and structures that are of later date, correspond to those revealed by the excavations of the 1900 and 1901 campaigns (Fig. 6.5c).

Mackenzie (104-105_**D.1923/II:12**) observed that a doorway had been formed by the removal of a block or blocks in the RLL.3 wall **3** thereby, for the first time, connecting the N and S parts of

the area. Pale wall plaster curved out on to the threshold slab of the doorway, linking it with the floors in the rooms on its N and S sides. In the Room of the Saffron Gatherer, the wall plaster passes out on to the floor of 'terrazza' (104-105_**D.1923/II:12**) that above was taken to belong to the RLL.3 phase. It seems that, in the RLL.4 phase, the earlier terrazza floor, at a height of 0.13m below the threshold, was patched with plaster. Mackenzie considered that the plaster was the work of the Reoccupation people and resembled more closely that found at Mainland sites. He explicitly attributed it to the 'Reoccupation Period', distinguishing it from the 'terrazza' layer in the Room of the Stirrup Jars. Woodard (1972, 120) noted that plaster laid over the cement floor in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer continued up over a rough step to join the floor in the Room of the Stirrup Jars[1]. He did not indicate the height of the step.

The floor in the W part of the Room of the Lotus Lamp was said by Mackenzie to be 0.08m above the level of the threshold slab and was thus 0.21m higher than the lower cement floor in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. The floor in the W part of the Room of the Lotus Lamp was therefore at a height of 100.29m.

Comment. The plaster floor has great significance in that, for the first time, all the rooms in the area can be connected with one another. The height of the plaster floor in the N section must have been a little above that of the lower cement floor at 100.08m in the Rooms of the Saffron Gatherer and of the Stirrup Jars. As noted above, the corresponding floor in the W part of the Room of the Lotus Lamp was at a height of 100.29m (*see* Fig. 6.10). As the two rooms were connected, it is likely that the floor in the E part of the Room of the Lotus Lamp was also at this height. If the stairway in the SE corner of the room was constructed in relation to a floor at this level, there is no need to suppose that it lacked its lowest step. It suggested, therefore, that the stairway dates from the RLL.4 phase and consisted of only five steps (Fig. 6.11a) that linked a floor covered with 'Reoccupation Period' plaster to the paving of the Central Court. This is consistent with the conclusion of Mirié (1979) that the Central Court paving was raised to its present level during the LM III B period (*see* Chapter 5). The structures of the phase are shown on Fig. 6.5c.

RLL.5 phase - the 'late' structures. [= Phase 4 of Mackenzie, in part].

Excavations in 1923 revealed that the E part of the SE stairway in the Room of the Lotus Lamp had been 'embedded for 0.35m in the course of wall **5**'. It is evident that the wall has two components and that its western element was of late date. This also incorporated the gypsum block that lay to the E of the stair (101-102_**D.1923/II:07-8**, and see Figs. 6.5d, 6.11b). Probably

[1] At a height of 99.70 according to the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981), the floor in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer is now well below the level of the cement pavement.

during the same phase, the uppermost step (**e**) of the SE stairway was displaced northwards and it and the step below (**d**) were incorporated in a new structure laid against the wall that had previously formed the N edge of the Central Court (Fig. 6.11b). The N boundary wall of the Room of the Stirrup Jars, said to be of 'mud' (95_**D.1901/I:66**), presumably dates from this or the preceding phase. Comparison of Mackenzie's sketch of the structures exposed at the end of the 1900 season with the plan of Hood and Taylor (1981) indicates that the W wall of the Room of the Knobbed Pithos had had a similar buttressing structure laid against it (Fig. 6.12). There is no information regarding the date when this structure was removed.

In the Room of the Lotus Lamp, the floor of this period was presumably that on which were discovered in 1900 a stone lamp for which the room is named (94_**D.04.05.1900**) and a stone basin (93-94_**D.09-10.05.1900**). The only information given about the height of the floor at the time of its excavation was that it lay about metre below the original ground surface. In the Room of the Saffron Gatherer, the uppermost floor was of cement at a height of 100.48m (Table 6.2). No corresponding floor was reported in the adjoining Room of the Stirrup Jars where, according to a cross section by Evans (1903, fig.13 - reproduced here as Fig. 6.14b), the highest floor was of clay. Earlier, Mackenzie had indicated that the 'real' floor was covered by a tough deposit of clay but did not specify its thickness (96_**D.08.05.1900**). In the corresponding entry in the Ink Version, describing the tough clay as being damp (96_**D.08.05.1900/IV**), he blamed it for the poor preservation of the Linear B tablets found in the room.

Comment. Mackenzie's description of the structures of this phase, apart from the floors, is explicit. The floor in the Room of the Lotus Lamp on which the stone lamp and basin had lain was removed in 1903. A sketch published by Evans (1903, fig. 14, *see* Fig. 6.14a) shows the floor as being 0.43 below the level of the Central Court. Alongside the stairway, the paving of the Court is at a height of 100.98m, suggesting that the floor had been at a height of 100.55m. On Mackenzie's sketch of 1900 (Fig. 6.3b), only one step of the SE stairway in the Room of the Lotus Lamp is visible. This implies that the floor at the time of excavation was at the level of the top of the second step (**b**) and that only step **c** was exposed (Fig. 6.6d). The uppermost steps (**d** and **e**) do not appear on the sketch because they had been incorporated in the late S wall of the room (*see* Fig. 6.11b). The steps were estimated by Mackenzie to be 0.14-0.15m high (101_**D.1923/II:06**). If the floor were indeed at the level of step **b**, its height would be about 100.50-55m. This agrees with the height given on Evans' figure and the level of the higher of the two cement floors in the adjoining Room of the Saffron Gatherer.

The situation in the Room of the Stirrup Jars presents a particular problem as no floor was recorded in it that corresponded to the higher of the two cement floors in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. Instead, a layer of tough clay (96_**D.08.05.1900**) rested upon a cement floor that, as discussed above

(*see* Fig. 6.7), was at the same height of 100.08m as the lower cement floor of the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. On his sketch, Evans (1903, fig. 13, *see* Fig. 6.14b) interpreted the surface of the clay deposit as a floor at a height of 0.20m above the cement floor. His sketch shows the vessels that gave the Room of the Stirrup Jars its name as standing on the clay floor.

The height of the top of the tough clay deposit, approximately 100.28m, was the same as that of the plaster floor in the W part of the Room of the Lotus Lamp. It is possible, therefore, that the clay deposit was laid down to produce a floor at this level throughout the Room of the Lotus Lamp area although no comparable clay deposit was recorded in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. This brings into question of the nature of the deposit that covered the clay layer. Evans' figure suggests that it was an *in situ* destruction deposit. While this cannot be ruled out, there is no evidence that indicates that such a deposit was present at this level in the remainder of the area. An alternative interpretation is that the upper layer was a makeup for a higher floor, not recognised in the excavation, that was equivalent to the higher cement floor of the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. A third possibility is that the tough clay layer and the overlying deposit together constitute the makeup for a higher floor. It is interesting that deposit with apparently similar characteristics, that lies between two paved floors, was preserved as a baulk in the upper EW Corridor of the Domestic Quarter (Fig. 4.31c,d). Unfortunately, it is not known in that case whether or not the surface of the lower of the two layers present functioned as a temporary floor. The structures of the last phase RLL.5, including the buttress walls laid against the S and W bounding walls of the Room of the Lotus Lamp area are referred to the RP2 phase of the 'Reoccupation Period'.

The stratigraphy of the area as reconstructed from the excavation data is summarised as follows.

Phase **RLL.1** Structures of Early Keep

Phase **RLL.2** Rubble walls founded on structures of Early Keep - e.g., walls **2**, **4** of Fig. 6.4.
Floor level: possibly at 99.60m over infilled cells of Early Keep in **RoSJ** and room S of **RoKP**.

Phase **RLL.3** Rubble walls penetrating cells of the Early Keep - for example, wall **3** of Fig. 6.4; reduction of walls **2** and **4** of Fig. 6.4 to below pavement level.
Floor level: Room S of **RoKP** at 100.18; **RLL(E)** - gypsum slabs, with marks of burning, at 100.18m; **RoSG** - cement floor at 100.08m; **RoSC** - floor at 99.95m.

Phase **RLL.4** Doorway with threshold at 100.20m opened up in wall **3** of Fig. 6.4. Wall **6** possibly built at this time. Plaster floor laid at 100.28m in **RLL** and continued at a lower level into the **RoSG** and **?RoSJ**. Stairways built in **RLL(E)** and **RoSC**.
Floor level: **RLL** - plaster at c. 100.29m; **RoSG/?RoSJ** - plaster over cement at 100.08m.

Phase **RLL.5** Rubble walls - wall **5** of Fig. 6.4; partition wall between **RoSJ** [1] and **RoSG**; step **e** of the SE stairway displaced to N and incorporated in new N wall of Central Court. Buttressing wall laid against W wall of **RoKP**.

Floor level: **RLL** - ?100.50-55m; **RoSG** - cement at 100.48m. Floor in **RoSJ** ?initially levelled up to 100.28m with tough clay deposit.

The finds

Apart from a number of almost intact vessels (*see* Popham, 1964), little pottery was retained from the early excavations in the Room of the Lotus Lamp area. Much of what was kept was from a cell of the Early Keep in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer that was cleared in 1901 and of no relevance for the later structures. On the evidence of fragments of an LM IIb[2] pithos, Mackenzie (103-104_**D.1923/II:10**) dated to the Reoccupation Period the construction of wall **6** (Fig. 6.4), that divided the Room of the Lotus Lamp. Unfortunately, he did not describe the exact context of the sherds but, as Mackenzie used them to date the wall rather the floor of the room, it may have been the infill of a foundation trench. A date of LM III B for the final occupation of the area is indicated by the nearly intact stirrup jars and amphorae reported from the Room of the Stirrup Jars in 1900 (Table 6.1). Three of the vessels purportedly from the Room of the Stirrup Jars (Evans, 1935, fig. 720) are actually from other locations within the Palace (Popham, 1964, 7) but there seems no reason to doubt the existence of the stirrup jars, their date or their general stratigraphical significance. Thus, Evans and Mackenzie agreed that the area was in use during the Reoccupation or Period of Partial Habitation.

Fragments of the flower gatherer fresco (94_**D.03.05.1900**), two stone lamps (94_**D.04.05.1900**) and a 'tray' with concentric circles (95_**D.05.05.1900**) were found at shallow depths at an early stage in the excavation of the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. Presumably all came from the deposit that rested on the higher of the two cement floors in that room. Mackenzie's retrospective reference in 1902 to the fresco fragments found in the Room of the Spiral Cornice in 1900 (37-38_**D.1902/I:31**) suggests that these were contained in a makeup deposit. It is possible that this rested on the floor at 99.95m (Table 6.2).

On a sketch by Evans (1903, fig.14, *see* Fig. 6.14a), the stone lamp and the stone basin found in the Room of the Lotus Lamp (93_**D.09.05.1900**; 93-94_**D.10.05.1900**) were shown resting upon a floor 0.43m below the Central Court paving, that is, at a height of about 100.55m. Although Mackenzie in his Daybook did not state the composition of the floor, Evans' sketch describes it as being of plaster and clay and suggests a correlation with the upper of the two 'cement' floors in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. However, the floor on which the stone basin rested was said to be at a depth of

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[1] Abbreviations as in Table 6.2.

[2] This corresponds to LM III A of the modern terminology.

1.50m below the ground surface (for example 93-94_**D.10.05.1900**). In the Room of the Saffron Gatherer to the N, it is the lower of the two cement floors that is at approximately this depth (see Fig. 6.14c). It is likely, therefore, that the stone basin in the Room of the Lotus Lamp rested on the RLL.3 floor of gypsum slabs at a height of 100.18m or on the RLL.4 floor at about 100.28m.

Linear B tablets were found in a number of localities in the Room of the Lotus Lamp area. Descriptions of their contexts by Mackenzie are vague but the main assemblage of inscriptions was described as lying 'on the floor' alongside the W wall of the Room of the Stirrup Jars (95_**D.04.05.1900**; 96_**D.08.05.1900**). The floor appeared to consist of cement and was covered by a layer of tough clay. The only other tablets found in 1900 were in the Room of the Lotus Lamp. Their discovery was reported at the same time as the finding of the stone basin (93-94_**D.10.05.1900**). In 1901, tablets were discovered during excavations beneath the upper of two cement floors in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer (95_**D.1901/I:67-8**). As the tablets must have been contained in deposit that overlay the lower floor (*see* Woodard, 1972, 125, footnote 66), they occupied the same general stratigraphical level as those found in the Rooms of the Lotus Lamp and of the Stirrup Jars.

The stratigraphical position of the Linear B tablets found in the area, especially in the Room of the Stirrup Jars, and their relation to the LM III B pottery has been the subject of much debate. The first questionings of the context of the tablets appear in Mackenzie's revision in the ink version of his Daybook of his original description of their find circumstances. According to the amended version, the tablets were found lying on a clay floor (95_**D.04.05.1900/IV**). By the time Evans (1903, 25 and figs. 13, *see* Fig. 6.14b) described the sequence in the Room of the Stirrup Jars, the surface of the deposit of tough clay had become a floor upon which rested the stirrup jars. Evans however considered that the tablets were contained within the tough clay deposit, which his figure shows resting on a floor of plaster and clay. On the sketch, the floor was said to be at a depth of 1m below the original surface level whereas Mackenzie in his Daybook described it as being 2m down. Neither of Evans sketches (Figs. 6.14a, 6,14b) show the relations of the floor with the two 'cement' floors recognised in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. Subsequently, Evans (1935, 736) described the stratification in the Room of the Stirrup Jars as providing decisive evidence with regard to the chronology of the Linear B tablets.

In an early paper (Palmer, 1961a, 139) disagreed with Evans' reading of the stratigraphy and argued that the inscribed tablets and the stirrup jars had rested on a clay floor that lay above a floor of white cement. This he considered to be equivalent to the *higher* of the two cement floors identified in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. Boardman (1961, 234) disputed this interpretation, pointing out that the supposed clay floor had been recorded by the excavators only in the Room of the Stirrup Jars and emphasising that the reference to tablets resting on it was contained in the ink version of Mackenzie's

Daybook for 1900. In his view, the tablets in the Room of the Stirrup Jars had lain within or under the clay deposit and the complete vases of late date must have stood upon it. He considered that the floor in the Room of the Stirrup Jars on which the clay deposit rested corresponded to the *lower* of the two cement floors in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. Tablets recovered from the Room of the Saffron Gatherer in 1901 must have lain on the *lower* cement floor as the deposit lying on the upper floor had been cleared in 1900. Palmer (1963a) and Boardman (1963) restated at greater length their arguments regarding the context of the tablets.

Woodard (1972) studied the documentary evidence relating to the Room of the Lotus Lamp area and examined the surviving remains. He attributed to the fire of LM III A marks of burning on the gypsum paving at 100.18m in the Rooms of the Lotus Lamp and on the gypsum slab in the lower cement floor at 100.08m in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. He correlated the latter floor with that on which lay the tough clay deposit in the Room of the Stirrup Jars (p. 120, footnote 39) on the grounds that, according to Mackenzie, the two floors were at the same distance below the threshing floor. He considered that after the Palace was destroyed in LM III A, the rooms in the area were cleared down to their floors. These were then covered over or patched with rough plaster. He concluded that the Linear B tablets found in the Room of the Stirrup Jars lay on the plaster floor and may well have been covered by the tough clay layer. He considered that the stirrup jars and other vessels also rested on the plaster floor (RLL.4 of this account - see Fig. 6.12c) and dated the context of the Linear B tablets to the 'Reoccupation Period' period. He agreed with Boardman that the tablets found in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer had lain on the lower of the two 'cement' floors (p. 125, footnote 66).

Palmer (1976) was strongly critical of Woodard's interpretation of the stratigraphical relations in the Room of the Lotus Lamp area but, in fact, it accords well with the documentary evidence. Thus, Woodard is almost certainly correct in linking the stirrup jars and the Linear B tablets as, in the primary account of their finding, both were said to lie 'on the floor'. Whether the floor is taken to be at the top of the tough clay layer rather than at the cement or plaster floor that underlay it does not affect the relationship of the tablets with the stirrup jars. The stratigraphical arrangements proposed by Evans and Boardman appear to stem from a perceived need to separate 'Palatial' tablets from 'Reoccupation' pottery - a need that arises from the assumptions that the Reoccupation was non-literate and that the tablets and stirrup jars were contained in a destruction deposit. It is interesting that, in Mackenzie's amended description, it is the tablets rather than the stirrup jars that were said to lie 'on the clay floor'. In his original account he did not interpret the surface of the clay deposit as a floor as he would surely have done if intact vases had been found resting upon it.

Woodard is probably correct in locating the tablets and the stirrup jars within the clay deposit although it could be argued that the presence of an impermeable layer contributed to the decay of tablets

contained in an overlying deposit. However, his suggestion (Woodard, 1972, 125) that the tablets were washed in is implausible and it is here considered more likely that the deposit containing the tablets was laid down as the makeup for a later floor. It seems likely that tablets SM 769-773, found in 1901 in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer, occurred at the same stratigraphical level as those in the Room of the Stirrup Jars thereby implying that the makeup deposit for the new floor was present in both rooms. The assemblage of tablets from the area is strongly linked through its scribal hands with that in the nearby N Entrance Passage area (*see* Chapter 7).

Summary

The suggestion by Woodard (1972) that gypsum slabs in the floors of the Room of the Saffron Gatherer and the Room of the Lotus Lamp were scorched in the fire that destroyed the 'Last Palace' in LM III A is accepted as reasonable. This implies that the sherds of an LM IIb (=LM III A) pithos, found in the Room of the Lotus Lamp at a depth of 0.32m below the *level* of the gypsum slab floor, were not in a context that was sealed by the floor. It is considered instead that they were contained in the backfill of the foundation trench for a later wall.

The plaster floor that occurs throughout the area at heights ranging from somewhat above 100.08 to 100.28m and the associated structures of the RLL.4 phase are assigned to the earliest part of the 'Reoccupation Period', that is, to the RP1 phase. These structures are considered to include the SE stairway in the Room of the Lotus Lamp, built following the raising of the pavement in the Central Court to its present level (*see* Chapter 5). There is no particular reason to suppose that a long period intervened between the destruction and the emplacement of the early Reoccupation structures, as Woodard (1972) suggested.

The rooms of the area were occupied for a considerable period during which the plaster on walls and floors were repeatedly repaired (104-105_**D.1923/II:12**). Subsequently, the extensive works of the RLL.5 phase were carried out. The final floor, represented by the upper cement floor in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer, was at a height of about 100.50m. The floor may have been raised in two stages, in the first of which the floor in the N rooms was brought up to the level of that in the S by means of a makeup deposit that contained Linear B tablets. In this last phase, the SE stairway was eliminated being partly buried beneath the new floor and partly incorporated in new E and S walls in the Room of the Lotus Lamp. A new W wall was built against the W wall of the Room of the Knobbed Pithos. The structures of the RLL.5 phase are assigned to the RP2 phase of the 'Reoccupation'. It is considered that the Linear B tablets were contained in the makeup deposit for the floors of this phase.

Even if the Linear B tablets and the stirrup jars and other late vessels did not occur in the same stratum in the Room of the Stirrup Jars, there seems no reason to doubt that their *context* is of LM III B date.

While the tablets may be of Palatial, that is, LM III A date, as Woodard (1972, 124) assumed, this is not necessarily the case. There are strong links between the tablets found in this area and those from the Great Inscriptions Deposit in the N Entrance area.

Area B. The North Magazines (Fig. 6.15).

At present, the North Magazines consist of five, narrow elongate chambers opening northwards from the Corridor of the Stone Basin. Their walls, of large rubble construction with many reused blocks including gypsum doorjambs are nowhere preserved to a height much in excess of a metre. The record of their excavation in 1900 and 1901 is perfunctory and no pottery was retained. Pottery in boxes 660-5 in the Stratigraphical Museum was however recovered from tests carried out in the magazines in 1904. Further investigations were carried out in the magazines and the Corridor of the Stone Basin in 1923 (*see* Appendix 4). From their link with the Corridor of the Stone Basin where an intact vase of LM III B date was found, it can be inferred that the magazines were in use during the 'Reoccupation Period'. Two construction phases can be recognised that probably represent the RP1 and RP2 phases present elsewhere in the Palace site.

The documentary evidence

The only information of stratigraphical significance recorded in the early excavations concerned the Corridor of the Stone Basin. On 26 April 1900, the doorway opening S into the Room of the Woman's Seat and the doorway to Magazine **1** (Fig. 6.15) were discovered (106_**D.26.04.1900**). On the following day, the doorways to Magazines **2** and **3** were opened up and the charred doorposts of a doorway were found, about halfway along the corridor (106_**D.27.04.1900**). Among the finds were a flat wine bottle or pilgrim's flask of LM III B date (*see* Palmer, 1962; Popham, 1964, 16; pl. 4:f-g), fragments of Linear B tablets and a large stone basin. According to Warren (1969, 7) this dated to LM II/III A and was of limestone rather than porphyry (Evans, 1900, 43) or gypsum (Evans, 1930, fig.13). The position of the finds in relation to the floor was not given. Mackenzie did not describe the floor but Evans (1900, 43) indicated that it was of good gypsum paving. The state of the remains as revealed by the 1900 excavation is given on Fig. 6.16A. Further work was carried out in the area in 1901, as is apparent from the plan on Fig. 6.16B, but the Daybooks provide no details

In 1904, Mackenzie drew attention to the curved wall of gypsum orthostates at the S side of the Corridor of the Stone Basin at its E end (Fig. 6.17a), pointing out that the blocks of its foundation course were roughly dressed and not meant to be visible. He concluded that it was an earlier structure that had related to a higher floor than the present one. The obvious fire-damage to the gypsum orthostates may nevertheless date from the fire of LM III A. In 1923, Mackenzie noted that the pavement of the W part of the Corridor of the Stone Basin, that lies to the N of the curved facade, and of the corridor the continues N from its W end was 'a patchwork of reused fragments of gypsum

paving slabs' (107_**D.1923/I:33R**). As shown in Fig. 6.17b these are commonly fire-blackened and it is reasonable to suggest that they consist of reused slabs that were scorched in the conflagration of LM III A.

The supplementary excavation of 1923 (*see* Figs. 6.18, 6.19) revealed that the area had been extensively rearranged and Mackenzie was inclined to attribute some of the late structures to 'the LM III Period of Re-occupation' (109_**D.1923/I:36L**). The modifications fall into at least two phases. The first, which was perhaps associated with the construction of the pavement of reused gypsum slabs, had the effect of constricting the W part of the Corridor of the Stone Basin.

Mackenzie noted that the walls of Magazine 4 and 5 projected farther S into the Corridor of the Stone Basin than those of the more easterly rooms. He linked this with the construction of the doorway across the corridor discovered in 1900, pointing out that the relationship of the N jamb of this with the W jamb of N Magazine **3** did not conform to the normal pattern (109_**D.1923/I:36R**). Also the W jamb of Magazine **3** had been displaced so that it no longer aligned with its companion on the E (*see* Fig. 6.18) and the jambs of Magazine **2** lay 0.15m farther S than those of Magazine **1** (109-110_**D.1923/I:37L**). Mackenzie also noted the S part of the W wall of Magazine **4** was displaced towards the E and suggested that this had been a later alteration also. If this were the case, the modification must have been carried out prior to the emplacement of the jambs. A facing or buttressing structure 0.40m thick (107-108_**D.1923/I:34L**), built against the S wall of the Corridor of the Stone Basin (Fig. 6.18), may be of the same date as its positioning seems to take account of the doorway W of the entrance to Magazine **3**.

Investigation around the W jamb of Magazine **3** appeared to confirm that it had been moved and proved the following layers in downward sequence.

1. A layer of red earth like that found underneath gypsum paving elsewhere in the Palace.
2. A layer of dark loose earth with sherds that were mixed Middle and Late Minoan but not Reoccupation.
3. Mortar bedding for what was possibly the earliest doorjamb or the moved doorjamb in its original position

The description of the sherds in layer 2 excludes only the LM III B and later periods and implies a *terminus post quem* of LM III A for the emplacement of the jamb. The use of mortar as a bedding for walls and other structural elements was described by Mackenzie in connection with the corridor and magazines that lie to the W of the Room of the Chariot Tablets (*see* Chapter 5).

Blocking structures about 3m wide and high enough to be visible in the excavations of the early campaigns (Fig. 6.16) were recognised in Magazines **3** and **4** at a distance of about 10.60m from their entrances (111-112_**D.1923/II:01R**). Mackenzie provided no evidence regarding their date. However, two blocking structures in Magazine **5**, the first extending in from the entrance for a distance of 2m, the second, 1.20m thick, being at a distance of 7m from the entrance (Figs. 6.18, 6.19) clearly belonged to a later phase. Thus, as Mackenzie (109_**D.1923/I:36L**) pointed out, the E jamb of the magazine was found still in place beneath the blocking structure whereas what was taken to have been the W jamb was found incorporated within it. Remains of the plaster and timber doorframe were found still in place when the rubble of the blocking wall was removed. Neither blocking structure appears on the final excavation plans of the 1900 and 1901 campaigns (Fig. 6.16). This suggests not merely that their preserved height was less than that of the adjacent magazine walls but also that they were lower than what had been taken to be floor level by the excavators. When the blocking structures were cleared, the magazine floor thus revealed, presumably that which corresponded to the jambs, was found to consist of 'terrazza' with river pebbles 'like the cement floors in the light wells of the Palace' and also that in the Room of the Stirrup Jars (see above).

Also belonging to the later phase of constructions were two doorjambs without reveals that lay against the walls of Magazine **3,** at a distance of 3.30m from its entrance. According to Mackenzie (111-112_**D.1923/II:01R**) these were too high to relate to the original floor, suggesting that they had been repositioned in the Reoccupation Period. There was no description of the floor to which the jambs were related and it seems likely that it had been of earth and was not recognised. What may be supporting evidence for a higher earthen floor was reported in the entrance to Magazine **4** where there was a much worn gypsum slab with a surface at a height of 0.27m above the level of the paving in the adjacent Corridor of the Stone Basin. It is possible that the slab served as a threshold rather than as what would have been an unusually high step.

Comment

Mackenzie (110_**D.1923/I:38L**) was unable to suggest a purpose for the blocking structures in Magazine **5**. It seems possible, however, that their tops lay at or below the level of a later floor not recognised as such during the early excavations and that they formed the foundations for mud or rubble walls that were later removed. An LM III B date for the earlier of at least two phases of late construction is suggested by the evidence of the Late Minoan sherds found beneath the W jamb of Magazine **3** and the burnt gypsum slabs reused in the paving of the Corridor of the Stone Basin. The paving in the corridor is at a somewhat lower level than the good gypsum pavement further E, close to the Central Court, and it is possible that an earth floor had been laid down over it and in the magazines as part of a later series of modifications. The occurrence of the pilgrim's flask confirms that the Corridor of the Stone Basin and presumably also the magazines that open off it were in use during the

LM III B period, as implied by Mackenzie. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that it and/or the fragments of clay tablets found in the corridor had as their context the makeup for an earth floor rather than a final destruction deposit.

The pavement, with its reused scorched gypsum slabs, in the Corridor of the Stone Basin, and also the structures in the magazines that relate to it, are assigned to the RP1 phase of the 'Reoccupation Period'. The raised floor and the associated blocking structures in the magazines are presumed to be of the RP2 phase. It is unclear to which of the phases the pilgrim's flask belongs as it could have lain on an earth floor in the Corridor of the Stone Basin that was not recognised during the excavation. The structures in the North Magazines that belong to the RP1 and RP2 phases are summarised on Fig. 6.20.

Area C. North Entrance area (Fig. 6.21)

The North Entrance area consists of a complex of structures that extends N for a distance of 48m from the northern margin of the Central Court. Its salient feature is the narrow NS passageway - the N Entrance Passage - which, in its southern part, rises with a gradient of about 1 in 9 to give direct access to the Court. Farther N, on the W side of the passageway, there are a number of small rooms; to the E lies the North Pillar Hall. Excavation of the area was largely completed following the campaigns of 1900, 1901 and 1902 but further investigations were carried out in 1904, 1913, 1922 and 1929. The area is most notable for the occurrence of large numbers of Linear B tablets in what apparently was the same stratigraphical context as couple-vases considered to date to the LM III B period.

The primary data sources for the excavation of the area are Mackenzie's Daybooks for 1900, 1901, 1902 and 1922, Evans' Notebook for 1913 and the excavation photographs, all held in the Ashmolean Museum. The photographs are especially important as they show which structures in this heavily restored area survive in their original form and also a number of the late structures as they were uncovered. Evans provided plans and descriptions of the remains exposed during the campaigns of 1900-2 in the excavation reports published in the Annual of the BSA for these years. Subsequently, in *The Palace of Minos* (e.g. Evans, 1921, p. 393-400; 1928, 158-191), he reviewed the architecture and aspects of the historical development of the area.

Much of the text in the excavators' notebooks relating to the N Entrance area and many of the photographs have already been published, chiefly by Palmer (1963a, 118-27), Boardman (1963, 45-7) and, most comprehensively, Raison (1988, 111-190). Each of these writers described the course of the excavation of the area and offered an interpretation of the structural and stratigraphical development of this part of the palace. As so much has already been written about this area, in this account attention is focused on the late structures and the deposits associated with them. Extracts from the excavation documents are given in Appendix 4.

The area conveniently falls into a southern and a northern section. The S section, mostly excavated during the campaign of 1900, comprises the N part of the N Entrance Passage, the small rooms on its W side and the corridor-like space on the E that Evans considered to have been occupied by a series of terrace-like structures.

South Section

The excavation started in the compartment to N of the Room of the Spiral Cornice (Fig. 6.22A) - the stage reached by the excavation at the close of the 1900 season is illustrated on Figs. 6.22C and 6.22D (*see* Raison, 1988, pl. LXIV and LVI). Work in the N Entrance area was resumed on 18 April 1901. Stages in the further excavation are illustrated on Fig. 6.23.

The surviving structures

The early photographs show that the ashlar masonry which at present flanks the N Entrance Passage on either side is essentially as it was at the time of Evans' excavation although much patched with cement. However, the heavy slabbed pavement of the Passage has been restored in part, having been robbed apparently in antiquity. The masonry of the W wall of the E Bastion also has survived virtually intact but the walls and rooms in the southernmost part of the area have largely been reconstructed. There is no actual documentary evidence for the stair on the W side of the Passage. A stone drain that was discovered in the early days of the excavation of the area, beneath the paving slabs of the N Entrance Passage, is still visible at its northern end.

The northern part of the rough ashlar W wall of the East Bastion shows scorchmarks on its upper part. As can be seen on Figs. 6.24a, b (*see also* Evans, 1928, fig. 285; Raison, 1988, pls. LXXVI, LXXIX), the line bounding the scorched area is complex, apparently marking the intersection of the wall with the surface of terraces which step up towards the south. Further scorchmarks are visible (Fig. 6.25) on the limestone blocks of the lower courses of what Evans termed the Outer Bastion (Fig. 6.21). The marks are faint, the limestone being discoloured but not cracked. As in the case of the scorchmarks on the Procession Fresco, a narrow dark line defines the base of the scorched area. The line marking the edge of the scorched area is interrupted where it crosses a gypsum block in the wall, presumably because the original surface of this block has been lost through weathering. In contrast, the surface of the limestone block is essentially intact as shown by the faintly incised mason's mark of a double axe, visible a little below the scorchmark (Fig. 6.25c).

It is inferred that the lower part of the wall was protected by a deposit or floor with a surface that rose towards the S with a gradient similar to that of the paving in the N Entrance Passage but at a level that was about 0.52m higher. The southward continuation of the scorched zone ought to be visible on the ashlar blocks of the W Bastion. The surface of these is poorly preserved but, on an early photograph of

the W Bastion (Evans, 1935, fig. 7; *see* Fig. 6.25d), the pattern of discoloration of its blocks hints at the continuation southwards of the high level ramp.

The deposits

From comments in the Daybooks (for example, 114_**D.14.05.1900**), it is clear that the excavators were aware that the deposit contained in the N Entrance Passage was stratified. Although the layers were never formally named or their boundaries defined, the following sequence above the limestone pavement can be inferred.

1. Surface Deposit - about 2.0-2.50m thick
2. Inscriptions Deposit - ?0.25-0.30m thick
3. Basal Deposit - ?0.75m thick

'Surface Deposit'

Mackenzie only ever referred to the uppermost deposit in the area, first mentioned in the entry for 2 May 1900, as 'Surface Deposit' (113_**D.11.05.1900**). It was characterised by the occurrence of scattered fragments of inscribed tablets and pieces of fresco with plant decoration (112_**D.02.05.1900**) and two different representations of bulls (112_**D.04.05.1900**, 115-116_**D.1901/I:79-80**). The base of the deposit is here defined as the top of the underlying 'Inscriptions Deposit', at a depth of about 2m below the original ground surface in the W Passage (*see* Fig. 6.21). Mackenzie did not describe the boundary between the two deposits. However, it is clear from entries in his Daybook that he regarded the two deposits as distinct and was able to anticipate the depth at which the boundary between them lay (114_ **D.14.05.1900**).

From its description, it is not immediately obvious whether the Surface Deposit consisted of destruction debris or makeup - the dispersed character of the finds is consistent with either - or comprised elements of both. The presence of wood ash (112_**D.02.05.1900**) suggests that at least part of the deposit owed its origin to destruction by fire. Whether or not the wood ash deposit and floor found in the compartment N of the Room of the Spiral Cornice (Fig. 6.21) extended N into the W Passage is not clear as the relevant entries were written before excavation revealed that the two rooms were separate. It is also uncertain whether the deposit with fragments of bull relief fresco present in the W Passage extended continuously into the compartment to the south. There is little doubt, however, that the Surface Deposit passed eastwards without a break from the W Passage into the N Entrance Passage. Here, the deposit was evidently stratified and, as in the West Passage, the uppermost layer contained relatively few finds (113_**D.08.05.1900/IV**), including *'occasional inscription fragments'* (113_**D.11.05.1900**) and further fragments of fresco, including that of the bull in relief (114_**D.14.05.1900**), first encountered in the W Passage, and other subjects (114_**D.18.05.1900**).

From the above, it is reasonable to infer that what is here defined as the Surface Deposit was present in the West Passage at least from a depth of 1.20m, where fragments of bull-relief fresco were found (112_**D.04.05.1900**) to its base at about 2.00m beneath the ground surface. It is uncertain, however, whether the deposit continued without a break up to the original ground surface. The occurrence of a fragment of the bull relief fresco built into the S wall of the room strongly suggests that the deposit was laid down, at least in part, in the form of a 'fill', at about the time the wall was being constructed or subsequently. The occurrence in the 'Surface deposit' and in the earth infill of the wall of fragments of the same fresco (112-113_**D.05.05.1900**) indicates that both deposits were derived from the same source - presumably an earlier destruction deposit.

Mackenzie's comment of 16 May describing deposit *'W of the wall running S-N'* (114_**D.16.05.1900**) refers to material contained in a closed cell within the West Bastion. He noted that the deposit is *'very much disturbed'* and his remark that there was no *'floor level indicated on which the fresco may have fallen'* seems to imply that he considered the deposit to be a fill. The comparison drawn in the same Daybook entry between the deposit and that contained in the N Entrance Passage, in which the objects recovered, including the large fragments of bull relief fresco, occurred at *'different levels'* and were unrelated to a floor, is thus of considerable significance. The uppermost deposit at all four localities mentioned above was of broadly similar character and content, and it is considered that in this southern area it consisted of fill.

Inscriptions Deposit

Beneath the Surface Deposit in the W Passage lay what Evans and Mackenzie termed the 'Great Deposit of Inscriptions'. This contained large numbers of Linear B tablets, whole and in fragments, in close association with couple-vases (*see* Fig. 6.42). Examples of these jars, generally accepted to be of LM III B age (Boardman, 1963, 49; Popham, 1964, 6-7), occurred in the South Basement area alongside stirrup jars with stylised octopus ornament (*see* Fig. 3.33). As in the case of the Surface Deposit, there is little doubt that this stratum, here conveniently called the Inscriptions Deposit, continued without a break into the adjoining N Entrance Passage. In the W Passage, the top of the Inscriptions Deposit was at a height of about 2m beneath the original ground surface but, while it is reasonable to assume that excavation continued to the base of the deposit, the depth of this below the surface was not stated. However, there is no indication that excavation continued beneath the base of the Inscriptions Deposit in the W Passage. That the base of the Inscriptions Deposit was considered to be a floor is clear from the Daybook entry for 22 May 1900 (115_ **D.22.05.1900**). The floor in question cannot have been the pavement of limestone slabs visible today as the tops of the limestone blocks of the surviving ashlar masonry on the E side of the N Entrance Passage, mistakenly interpreted as steps, were not exposed until 23 May (115_**D.23.05.1900**; Fig. 6.23A). On his sketch that shows the

elevation of the N Entrance Passage, Evans (1930, fig. 114) described the floor as a 'roadway' and dated it to LM III A.

On the basis of the information in the excavation documents it is not easy to ascertain the level of the Inscriptions Deposit in relation to the surviving architecture as all the given measurements of its height refer to the ground surface prior to excavation. Thus, according to the Daybook entry for 5 May (112-113_**D.05.05.1900**), the Inscriptions Deposit at its S end was said by Mackenzie to be '*2m down*'. The comment is imprecise but is here taken to mean the depth at which the deposit was first encountered, that is, it refers to its top. The same is taken to be true of the other references such as that of 11 May (113_**D.11.05.1900**) that records that the bull-relief deposit was 2.50m down. On 12 May, the inscription deposit was said by Mackenzie to be '*at a depth of 2.50-3m down*' which could refer to the depth beneath the ground surface of its top and base but might equally describe the variation in height of its upper boundary. However, as the deposit, at least in the S, enclosed intact vases with a smallest dimension of about 0.2m, the first of these possibilities cannot be entirely ruled out. At all events, it is evident that the level of the deposit overall declined towards the north in relation to the pre-excavation ground surface.

Evans (1930, fig. 114) considered that the inclined roadway on which the deposit with inscription tablets lay was at a height of 1.20m above the earlier pavement of the N Entrance Passage. He dated the floor to LM III A, quoting as evidence the couple-vases despite their association with late stirrup jars in the South Basements. The inscriptions themselves he dated to LM II, thereby implying that the stratum that contained them was not destruction deposit but a makeup. On his figure, the position of the pre-excavation ground surface is drawn at a height of about 2m above the floor and of one metre above the tops of the surviving walls. However, the Daybook entries for 1 and 2 May (112_**D.01.05.1900**; 112_**D.02.05.1900**) indicate that the top of the S wall of the Compartment to N of the Room of the Spiral Cornice was in view when fragments of inscription were reported at a depth of only 0.50m. Early photographs (e.g. Raison, 1988, pl. XCVIa, b) show that, in the area E of the N Entrance, the pre-excavation land surface, descending towards the N, lay close above the tops of walls and this may well be true for the W side of the area. It is probable therefore, as Raison (1988, coupe ε) also concluded, that the base of the Inscription Deposit was at a level about 0.5m lower than that proposed by Evans and that it descended northwards more rapidly than had the land surface.

As with the vertical limits, the lateral extent of the deposit is poorly defined in the Daybook entries. On 12 May Mackenzie noted that *'the greatest quantity is alongside of the W wall of the area'*. A sketch in the Ink Version (*see* Fig. 6.22C) shows the inscriptions occurring in a narrow strip in the W part of the N Entrance area. It would seem, therefore, that the Inscriptions Deposit had lain within the confines of the N Entrance Passage. This is the view of Boardman (1963, p. 46) who inferred 'that

there was still a construction of some sort' over what he termed (Boardman, 1963, p. 48) the 'outer wall' of the East Bastion. The Inscriptions Deposit, first encountered on 5 May 1900 at the point where the West Passage enters the N Entrance Passage, extended northwards for a distance of about 9m at which point, on 22 May (115_**D.22.05.1900**), the yield of clay tablets *'on the floor level'* came to an end.

What seems clear is that the entire deposit with inscribed tablets had already been removed when photographs illustrating the state of the N Entrance passage at the close of the 1900 campaign were taken. These show that excavation had concluded at a level approximately at the top of the first course of ashlar masonry that overlay the plinth course of the N part of the West Bastion (Figs. 6.26 and. 6.27. *See also* Palmer, 1976, fig. 2; 1978, fig. 1; 1984, fig.7; Raison, 1988, coupe ε). It might appear that this horizontal surface was a floor that was related to an EW rubble crosswall, considered to be of late date, which crossed the N Entrance Passage at its northern end (Fig. 6.23A; Fig. 6.27). However, the inscriptions deposit had extended some 3m N of the southern margin of the area of the seeming floor surface (Fig. 6.22C) and must have lain above it. The slope down northwards of the Inscriptions Deposit implies that it was related to a ramp descending from the Central Court, rather than to a floor, and that it had been laid down prior to the blocking of the passage. Arguably, then, the horizontal surface left when excavation ceased at the end of the 1900 campaign had no connection with either the top or the base of the Inscriptions Deposit. Instead, it was the surface that was generated when, after the supply of Linear B tablets came to an end, the excavators could no longer recognise the inclined stratification and reverted to their more usual approach of removing deposit in horizontal layers (Fig. 6.28).

Basal deposit

There is no indication that the strata beneath the Inscriptions Deposit were explored until excavation was resumed in 1901. The first indication that a new element in the stratigraphical sequence had been encountered is Mackenzie's entry for 18 April which recorded '*large quantities of Mycenaean pottery including large numbers of small ordinary plain cups'* (115_**D:1901/I:78**). The entries for the following days also mention an abundance of mainly Mycenaean pottery, the term applied by Mackenzie, at this early stage of the excavation, to all pottery of Late Minoan age, and it is this feature that distinguishes the Basal Deposit. Fragments of fresco also were recovered, including parts of a bull in relief that differed from the one found in 1900. On 20 May (116_**D.1901/I:81**) a fragment of spiral cornice was found similar to that recovered in the Room of the Spiral Cornice the previous year.

In the absence of information to the contrary, it is assumed that the Basal Deposit continued down to the limestone pavement at present visible in the N Entrance Passage; its top is taken as the inclined surface upon which the Inscriptions Deposit rested. The thickness of the deposit is a matter for debate.

According to Evans (1930, fig. 114) it is more or less constant at about 1.20m but, as has been argued above, the base of the Inscriptions Deposit was probably about 0.50m lower than the position shown on Evans' diagram. Raison (1988, coupe **c**) placed the top of the deposit above the feature that Boardman (1963, 47) interpreted as a 'baulk of earth', left unexcavated in 1901. Boardman considered that this was finally removed, along with deposit in the West Passage, during an extensive series of tests carried out by Evans in 1913. Pottery recovered from tests - **77**, **78** and **79** (117_**AE.1913:110**) in the N Entrance Passage and narrow passage to the W was retained and later catalogued by Pendlebury (1933-5) as J II 5 (=Box 863) and J.II.10 (=Boxes 870-2). Boardman concluded that the baulk deposit was the source of the pottery from the N Entrance Passage, a view that was accepted with little hesitation by Popham (1970, 43), who noted that the latest sherds found were of LM III B date, and by Raison (1988).

The 'baulk'

The structure interpreted as a baulk by Boardman (1963) is visible on several of the excavation photographs (e.g. Fig. 6.26) as a rectangular mass extending N from the opening into the W Passage. Boardman's interpretation was vigorously challenged by Palmer (e.g. 1973a, 65-7) on the grounds that an earth baulk was unlikely to have survived for so long and that the pottery said to be from it yielded a range of ages that was difficult to explain. He concluded that the structure had been a foundation and that Evans' test **79** had been made beneath the paved floor of the passage. He later developed his arguments in greater detail (Palmer, 1976, 46-58), supporting his suggestion that the structure was a foundation by referring to a plan of the area (Evans, 1902, fig. 2, *see* Fig. 6.29a) that was redrawn as Evans (1928, fig. 286; *see* Fig. 6.29b). He pointed out that the crosshatch ornament applied to the baulk was used for wall foundations, for example, to W of the W Passage. However, on an unpublished plan of T Fyfe, the ornament depicting the wall is clearly different from that used on the 'baulk' (Fig. 6.29c). On a still later sketch plan of Evans (1930, fig. 1B; *see* Fig. 6.29d) the 'baulk' and the N part of the W Passage are shown as lying outwith the limits of the Early Keep. Importantly, on all four sketches, the 'baulk' and what is taken to be deposit in the W Passage carry the same ornament. Palmer (1976, p. 49) had stressed that there was no mention of the 'earth baulk' in any of the excavation documents. However, it seems more probable that Mackenzie should neglect to mention an earth baulk than that he would fail to observe and record the presence of a foundation. It is of interest that early photographs appear to show that a baulk, not mentioned in the Daybooks, was preserved for a time in the Upper EW Corridor of the Domestic Quarter (*see* Chapter 4, Fig. 4.31A-C). There is no mention of this baulk in the Daybooks.

Evely (1976) reviewed the evidence regarding the nature and stratigraphical context of the 'baulk'. From the early photographs (e.g. Fig. 6.26) he estimated its length to be about 3.25m and its height about 0.78m. He considered that the photographs showed that the 'baulk' consisted of 'a homogeneous

mixture of earth and a debris of small stone and sherd' (p. 58, footnote 6), rather than stone 'and could not ever have been a foundation for anything' (p. 63). He conceded, however, that the photographs appeared to show that excavation had been carried below the level of the pavement. He contended that photographic evidence for the survival of the 'baulk' until at least 1903 was compelling.

Evely noted that Evans' 1913 tests were a matter for concern to Palmer because of his conviction that the Last Palace at Knossos was not only destroyed during LM III B but had been constructed at an earlier date in that period. According to Palmer's hypothesis, the slabbed pavement in the N Entrance Passage was a structure of the Last Palace. In his view, pottery assemblages that were of LM III A date, such as those obtained from the tests, must necessarily have been derived from deposit beneath the 'Last Palace' pavement, as in the case of analogous assemblages found elsewhere on the site. From this stemmed his determination to show that the 'baulk' was in fact a foundation emerging from beneath the pavement and the tests had therefore penetrated the pavement. Evely (1976, 61) pointed out that it was difficult to find buildings in the vicinity for which the 'baulk' could serve as a foundation. It seems improbable that the Minoan builders would have allowed such a foundation structure to intrude upon their newly constructed passageway with its prestigious ashlar masonry.

The early photographs support Evely's claim that the rectangular mass in the N Entrance Passage was a mixture of earth and small stones. They also appear to show that the material covered the projecting plinth course of the W wall of the N Entrance Passage thereby ruling out any possibility that the feature was an early foundation. One of the photographs (Fig. 6.30) shows a paving slab apparently resting upon the baulk deposit at the entrance to the W Passage. This would have helped to preserve the baulk and it also indicates that the surface of the deposit within the W Passage was at the same level as the top of the baulk. The account of the investigation of the Early Keep in Mackenzie's Daybook for 1903 suggests that it was restricted to the clearance of its cells and did not extend into the W Passage. This seems to be confirmed by his sketch that formed the basis for diagrams by Evans (1903, fig. 11; 1921, fig. 101). Apart from a comment by Evans in his notebook for 1913 concerning tests carried out in 1904 (117_**AE.1913:107**), there is no indication of further investigations in the N Entrance area until Evans' tests of 1913. Palmer (1973a, p. 65) contended that the tests had a common purpose. If this were so, then it suggests that, when Evans carried out his tests in the W Passage and the N Entrance Passage (117_**AE.1913:110**), he was persuaded that there was deposit at the two locations that occupied the same stratigraphical position. The similarity of the pottery assemblages from the two locations suggests that he was correct.

The photographs that illustrate the baulk also appear to show that the deposit of which it is a remnant descends beneath pavement level. A possible explanation for this is that the excavation documents record the discovery of the stone drain that lay beneath the paving slabs in the N Entrance Passage

before the pavement itself was exposed. It is inferred that, by chance, the excavation had come down in a place where the paving slabs that had covered the drain had been removed in antiquity for reuse elsewhere. When the area was subsequently rehabilitated in the 'Reoccupation Period', the pavement was not repaired but, instead, the drain was infilled as necessary and made up to the new floor level (Fig. 6.28). Significantly, when the more northerly course of the Great Drain was investigated in 1901, it was found in places to lack its cover slabs (117_**D.1901/II:07**).

Late walls and other structures

The investigations of 1900 and 1901 in the southern section of the N Entrance area revealed a number of walls considered by the excavators to be of late date. They were described by Mackenzie in unusually great detail both with regard to their discovery and their subsequent removal. The first wall exposed (**1** on Fig. 6.22C), extending eastwards across the N Entrance Passage from the N end of the West Bastion, was encountered on 15 May 1900. A photograph (Fig. 6.27; Raison, 1988, pl. LVI) taken at the end of the 1900 campaign clearly shows the wall to be of roughly coursed rubble with its top at a height comparable to that of the West Bastion which it abuts. From the photograph, it can be estimated that the surviving length of the wall was approximately 2m, as shown on Fyfe's plan of the Palace (Evans, 1900, pl. xxiii), similar to the width of the N Entrance Passage. It is possible that the late structure had ended E-wards against a NS wall built over the surviving ashlar masonry of the E wall of the N Entrance Passage.

A second transverse wall of similar length about 1.50m further N was reported on 21 May (**2** on Fig. 6.23A) and two days later a third wall (**2** on Fig. 6.23D**;** Raison, plan 8, **104**) was noted, connecting the first two at their western ends. This wall is visible, below the standing figures, on photograph Fig. 6.31 (see also Raison, 1988, pl. LVII, LXVI and LXXXb) taken after the removal in 1901 of the first discovered walls (Evans, 1901, 68). This wall also consisted of moderately well coursed rubble with roughly dressed blocks up to about 0.5m long and it would appear that it originally reached at least as high as the top of the fourth ashlar course above the plinth in the West Bastion. A photograph of 1900 (Fig. 6.27; Raison, 1988, pl. LVI) shows the uppermost blocks of a fourth late wall to E of the end of more southerly of the crosswalls. Further excavation in 1901 showed that this had been built, in crude masonry (Fig. 6.32), as a continuation, on a NNE line, of the ashlar wall on the E side of the N Entrance Passage (wall **6** on Fig. 6.23C; **105** on Raison, 1988, plan 8). The wall consisted of a heterogeneous assemblage of blocks, at least one of which had been reused. It appears to have ended to the NE at the line of a drain that descended towards the N in the E half of the N Entrance system.

A tributary entering the Great Drain from the E was first mentioned in the entry for 24 May in the ink version of the Daybook for 1900 (115_**D.24.05.1900/IV**). The tributary drain was not mentioned in the corresponding entry in the pencil version, but Evans (1900, 50) noted that *'An eastern branch was*

also ascertained to exist'. It must be assumed that the side drain had been recognized underground at its confluence with the Great Drain. However, no information on the location of this was provided and the drain was not shown on the final map of the campaign.

The Daybook entry for 23 April 1901 (116_**1901/I:86**) records the discovery beneath the terraces to E of the N Entrance Passage of a drain that was referred to by as the Small Drain (= 'le Petit Drain' of Raison, 1988, 135). The roof slabs of the drain are visible at a level 0.15-0.20m higher than the top of the plinth course of the E wall of the N Entrance Passage on an early photograph (Evans, 1901, fig. 22), reproduced here as Fig. 6.32). A plan of Evans (1901, fig. 23 *and see* Fig. 6.33), shows the N end of the Small Drain passing over the line of the Great Drain. At present, there is a NS line of slabs in the area to E of the N Entrance Passage (Raison, 1988, pl. XCIa). These are at too low a level to have been the cover slabs of the drain and, if they are *in situ,* must be its base slabs. In view of the height of the Small Drain it almost certainly post-dates the Great Drain and presumably entered it through its roof. It unlikely, therefore, that the Small Drain was the tributary reported in 1900. Instead, this is considered to be the drain described more fully in Mackenzie's Daybook entry for 24 April 1901 (116-117_**D.1901/I:87-8**) and illustrated on a sketch (*see* Fig. 21B). This drain also was later than the Great Drain, as it was at a higher level than doorjambs that Mackenzie considered were an amendment to the original design of the N Entrance system, but was probably earlier than the Small Drain as this was at an even higher level.

The Pottery.

No pottery excavated in the N Entrance area in the course of the 1900 campaign was retained except perhaps for the intact 'couple-vases' that are now on display in Iraklion Museum. Of the small amount of material collected in 1901, none has a secure stratigraphical context. However, as the excavation had by then reached a level below the base of the Inscriptions Deposit, it seems possible that the sherds in Box 861 held in the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos are derived from the Basal Deposit. According to Pendlebury (1933-5) the sherds ranged in date from MM III to LM III, with some Neolithic. Mackenzie described the assemblage in his Pottery Notebook for 1901 (page 26) as follows.

Lot from N Entrance
Rejected - 42 common painted Mycenaean.
Reserved

44	Painted Mycenaean rims
6	bottoms, common, painted Mycenaean, 1 of these Kamares, opaque white bands on black varnish bands on buff clay ground
4	handles, 1 ?__? of bügelkanne ?___? on top

13 fragmented all round. Painted Mycenaean. 1 large with spirals has opaque white on black varnish bands. 3 have branching reed ornament in red varnish on buff ground. Wheel made or by help of revolving stand.

Further pottery, stored in Boxes 863 and 870-2 of the Stratigraphic Museum Collection, was retained from tests 77, 78 and 79 carried out in the NS and W Passages in 1913 by Evans (117_**AE.1913:110**). According to Popham (1970, 44), the material was mainly of LM II/IIIA type but Box 863 contained two sherds that could well belong to the reoccupation phase - that is, to LM III B. This assemblage was possibly recovered from the 'baulk' (see above).

Comment

The thickness of deposit in the N Entrance area is variable, reaching a maximum, in the N Entrance Passage, of almost 4m. This is unusually great for a destruction deposit in the palace and especially so in this situation where the walls on either side of the passage survive intact to a height of 3m in places and the passage itself was probably open to the sky (Evans, 1930, fig. 107). Thus the available space within the passage alongside the 12m long W Bastion is approximately $180m^3$. However, upper storey walls, 3m high and a metre thick, flanking the passage on either side, would provide only a total of $72m^3$ of debris.

In any case it was evident from the Daybooks that the deposit was stratified. The oldest layer, the Basal Deposit was characterised by the abundance of 'Mycenaean' pottery, a few sherds being as late as LM III B in date. The top of the deposit formed the surface of the ramp upon which the Inscriptions Deposit rested. The Basal Deposit, of which part survived for a time in a baulk, is considered to be the makeup for a ramp constructed in the 'Reoccupation Period' over the paved ramp of the 'Last Palace'. It has been suggested above that the limestone slabs of the early ramp, which are slightly reddened through exposure to fire, had been robbed for reuse in antiquity and that the makeup deposit partly infilled the Great Drain thereby exposed. The pottery, including possible LM III B sherds from the baulk, provides a *terminus post quem* for the Inscriptions Deposit.

North Section

During the early part of the 1901 campaign, excavation commenced within the northward continuation of the N Entrance Passage, both walls of which, according to Mackenzie, showed evidence of late construction or modification.

The surviving structures

The surviving remains of the N Corridor and the rooms on either side are much as left by the excavators, apart from remedial work on the walls and paved floors. A number of walls and other

structures bear evidence of having been affected by fire. As in other parts of the palace, the scorching is confined to the upper parts of the structures with an unburnt zone 0.30-0.45m high adjacent to the present floor. In the case of the S wall of the North Pillar Hall (Fig. 6.21), the limestone blocks are severely cracked, as well as being reddened by oxidation of ferruginous impurities (Fig. 6.34a, b). The SW pillar of the Hall, which is in contact with this wall, is scorched on its three exposed faces (Fig. 6.34b, c, d) above a height of about 0.30m from the paved floor. The second ashlar course forming the inner face of the W wall of the 'Tower' (Fig. 6.21) also shows the effects of fire, the limestone blocks being reddened by burning to a depth of several centimetres beneath their surface (Fig. 6.35a, b).

Documentary evidence

Mackenzie's Daybooks for the 1901campaign provide only sparse information on the excavation of the structures in the N section of the N Entrance Area that appear on the final plan (Evans, 1901, pl. 1), given here in part as Fig. 6.36. A sketch (Fig. 6.23E) shows two walls traversing the N Corridor, the eastern wall of which was a late construction (118_**D.1901/II:08**). A second late wall extended parallel to this a little to the E. Following the resumption of the excavation in 1902, however, a number of other late structures were sketched by Mackenzie (*see* Fig. 6.37) prior to their removal (118_**D.1902/II:14**). A sketch plan by the architect Fyfe (1901-2), reproduced here as Fig. 6.38, and a series of photographs (for example, Figs. 6.39 and 6.40) provide more detail. The full range of structures is shown on Fig. 6.41 which is based on a plan prepared by Raison (1988, plan 8). Walls **1-4** on this and the Small Drain **5** have already been considered.

The most prominent structures are three substantial NS-trending rubble and earth walls, up to 3m high and almost 2m thick, which are illustrated on the excavation photographs. The two more westerly of these walls (**9** and **10** on Fig. 6.41) were constructed over and around the large square pillar bases of the North Pillar Hall (Fig. 6.37). Parts of two of these are visible at the N ends of the walls, the more southerly ones being completely enclosed. The final plan of the 1901 campaign (Fig. 6.36) indicates that the entrance to the room enclosed by walls **10**, **11** and **12** had two steps in it, suggesting that the floor level of the room was some 0.5m higher than the present pavement level. This inference is supported by Mackenzie's description of the late walls as *'not coming down to the adjacent levels'* that suggests they were founded on a makeup or other deposit (118_**D:1902/II:14**). The low walls **13**, **14** and **15** on Fig. 6.41:do not appear on the1901 plan and are known only from Fyfe's sketch (Fig. 6.38) and the early photographs (for example, Fig. 6.39).

Discussion

The physical distribution and stratigraphical relations of the deposits in the N Entrance Passage that form the context for inscription tablets and LM III B couple-vases are imprecisely defined in the excavation documents. The description of the deposits by Evans (1901, 50-1) is cursory but implies

that the tablets and the vases occurred separately, on or near the road level. Mackenzie's Daybooks, on the other hand, seem to indicate that the tablets and the vases were in intimate association. Evans' most complete statement on the stratigraphical sequence in the N Entrance, given on a figure (Evans (1930, fig. 114) reproduced here as Fig. 6.42, may be summarised as follows.

Deposit
Surface with fragments of bull relief and olive tree frescoes.
Deposit with Linear B tablets of LM II date and 40 couple-vases of LM III A date.
LM III A roadway.
Deposit 1.20m thick.
MM III paved way.

On the evidence of the excavation documents, Palmer in numerous papers argued that the Linear B tablets and LM III B couple-vases occurred in the same stratum, which he considered to be a destruction deposit. This deposit rested upon the limestone pavement of the N Entrance Passage. The sherds of LM III A-B date, recovered by Evans in his tests of 1913, were from *beneath* the pavement rather than from the 'baulk' deposit that Boardman believed lay on the pavement. Accordingly, the limestone slab pavement was laid down in the LM III B period when the palace was rebuilt.

Boardman (1963) challenged Palmer's interpretation, arguing that the Linear B tablets and the LM III B couple-vases did not occur in the same stratum. If they had, the vases would have showed signs of burning. Even if the tablets and the vases had occurred together in the same deposit, this did not necessarily mean that they were of the same date. He considered that the late sherds from the 1913 tests were from a baulk preserved *above* the pavement in the N Entrance Passage.

There are a number of issues.

1. Did the Linear B tablets and LM III B couple-vases occur in the same stratum or not?
2. If they did, what is their relationship with one another and what is the nature of the deposit that contained them?
3. What was the context of the sherds found in the 1913 test?

Mackenzie's Daybook entries for 10 May (113_**D.10.05.1900**) and 11 May 1900 (113_**D.11.05.1900**) clearly indicate that he was aware of, and was perturbed by, the incongruity of the association of the inscriptions with coarse vases of late date. The fact that Evans assigned tablets of 'LM II' date to a context that was no earlier than 'LM III A' (*see* Fig. 6.42) must be read as an admission that a problem existed. Thus Palmer was almost certainly correct in placing the tablets and the couple-vases in the same context. On the other hand, it is hard to dismiss the case made by Boardman that, even if the tablets and the couple-vases did have the same context, they are not necessarily of the same date.

Taken as a whole, the evidence that he cited - the seemingly unburnt conditions of the couple-vases, the fragmentary state of the tablets and the dispersal of joining fragments in different rooms - is persuasive. Features such as these are more characteristic of a makeup deposit than an undisturbed destruction deposit. That the deposit with inscriptions was the makeup for a floor is suggested by the indications in the Daybooks that it sloped down towards the N - as shown on Evans' figure.

There are good grounds for believing that the deposit with inscriptions did not rest directly upon the paving slabs of the N Entrance Passage. Mackenzie did not report the presence of the paved floor until after the yield of tablets had ceased. On photographs taken when excavation ended in 1900 (Figs. 6.26, 6.27), deposit still exists within the area from which the tablets had earlier been removed. There is no mention of the deposit with abundant 'Mycenaean' pottery prior to the resumption of excavation in 1901. The arguments by Evely (1976) that the source of some of the late sherds collected in 1913 was a remnant of this deposit left unexcavated as a baulk are convincing. There seems little reason to doubt that the surface of this basal deposit formed the floor upon which the deposit with inscriptions rested, as indicated on Evans' diagram (Fig. 6.42).

It has already been suggested that the stone-built drain below the pavement in the N Entrance Passage had been robbed of its cover slabs in places and later partly infilled with the deposit that contained 'Mycenaean' sherds. It seems likely that these events took place in the aftermath of the LM III A destruction of the Palace. It is considered here that a new floor was laid over the damaged pavement using salvaged destruction debris as makeup. It is of interest that alone of the deposits in the N Entrance area, this Basal Deposit, that would appear to have a *terminus post quem* of LM III B date, contained no inscribed tablets. Subsequently the floor level in the N Entrance Passage seems to have been raised for a second time, also during the LM III B period, using, for makeup, deposit that contained abundant Linear B tablets and incorporated a number of couple-vases.

Apart from the dating, this reconstructed stratigraphy in the N Entrance Passage accords reasonably well with that of Evans. The LM III B date accepted here for the stratigraphical context of the Linear B tablets agrees with that proposed by Palmer. However, there can be no connection between the tablets and the paved floor of the passage, which may well be of LM I date (Driessen and Macdonald, 1997, fig. 7.19). The stratigraphical position and ceramic content of the 'Basal Deposit' are similar to those of the deposit that covers the scorched floors and infills the burnt cists in the W Magazines area. There are thus grounds for considering that both deposits were laid down in the same RP1 construction phase of the 'Reoccupation Period'.

The evidence of the scorchmarks on the walls was not considered in previous studies in the N Entrance area other than that by Woodard (1972, 114-5) who noted only that the upper part of the E Bastion

was severely burned. He dated the fire responsible for this to LM III A:1 or to early LM III A:2 or a little later (p. 118). However, it would appear that he failed to observe or to appreciate the significance of the scorchmarks described above (Fig. 6.25) on the limestone blocks of the Outer Bastion. The dark line marking the base of the burnt zone slopes up towards the S from pavement level with a gradient comparable to that of the pavement in the N Entrance Passage as a whole, reaching a height of about 0.50m at the N end of the Outer Bastion. This implies that, when the Outer Bastion wall was scorched, the N Entrance Passage was still functional and its floor was significantly higher than at present. If the gradient of the floor indicated by the burnmarks on the Outer Bastion remained constant (Fig. 6.28), its level close to the entrance to the W Passage would be substantially higher than the top of the baulk as estimated by Evely (1976). This implies that the floor indicated by the burning limit on the Outer Bastion corresponds to the higher of the two floors that apparently existed above the present paved floor in the N Entrance Passage, that is, to the floor of which the Inscriptions Deposit formed the makeup. A *terminus post quem* for the fire is given, therefore, by the couple-vases.

Although similar vases were found the South Basement Area in association with stirrup jars of unquestioned LM III B date, the age of the couple-vases has been queried. However, even if these are ruled out, a *terminus post quem* of LM III B is nevertheless provided for the Inscriptions Deposit, and for the fire that scorched the limestone blocks of the Outer Bastion, by sherds found in the underlying Basal Deposit. Such a date for the final conflagration is compatible with the findings in other parts of the palace. If the Inscriptions Deposit were indeed the makeup for the floor that existed at the time of the final conflagration, this would mean that the Linear B tablets found in it were baked in a fire of earlier date.

The evidence that the N Entrance Passage was functional at the time of the final conflagration implies that it was flanked on its E side by a wall when the Inscriptions Deposit was laid down, as argued by Boardman (1963). On the other hand, the configuration of the scorchmarks on the E wall of the West Bastion (Fig. 6.24a), as discussed above, indicate the presence of a terraced structure such as Evans inferred for an earlier stage in the history of the N Entrance Area. It is presumed that the 'Little drain' was constructed at this time. The possible arrangement of the area at the time of the final fire is suggested on Fig. 6.43. The late structures in place in the N Entrance area at the time of the LM III B fire are here assigned to the RP2 phase. The links through their scribal hands of the Linear B tablets in the N Entrance area and the W Magazines suggests a correlation of the Inscriptions Deposit with what has been interpreted as packing material in the Magazines area.

The scorchmarks upon the S wall and SW pillar of the N Pillar Hall (Fig. 6.34) and also of the S wall of the room space to the E suggest that, at the time of the fire, the floor level was about 0.30 -0.40m higher than at present. However, it is clear that, when excavated, the SW pillar of the Hall had been

completely enclosed by the westernmost of the three NS rubble walls **9**, **10** and **11** of Fig. 6.41. The pillar could not have been scorched while thus protected and it follows that these walls and the others further N in the area, termed by Mackenzie in his Daybook for 1922 the 'Area of Late Habitation', were constructed at some time after the fire. The only pottery retained from the early excavation in the N Pillar Hall is in Box 856 in the Stratigraphical Museum. The material, described by Mackenzie in his Pottery Notebook for 1902 (p. 75), included a few sherds of LM III date. The context of the sherds is not known but they may have been recovered from the earth fill of the late rubble walls that were dismantled in 1902.

The system of late rubble walls (**1-4** of Fig. 6.41) that blocked the N Entrance Passage must also post-date the fire as this occurred while the passageway was open. The small space enclosed by the walls is inaccessible and may have been packed with earth so that the system of walls formed a retaining structure, supporting a deposit laid down in the N Entrance Passage that raised the ground level to match that of the adjoining areas (Fig. 6.44). If this were the case, it would imply that the Surface Deposit, like the earlier ones in the passage, also consisted of fill. Mackenzie's comment that '*the large fragments of bull-relief which were found at different levels*' (114_**D.16.05.1900**) is consistent with this interpretation. The diagram of the N Entrance Passage by Evans (1930, fig. 114) mistakenly places the fragments of bull-relief on a surface.

While it is clear that the structures of this last building phase cannot be earlier than LM III B, there is no actual evidence of their date. 'Immense quantities' of pottery were reported [116_**D.1901/I:87**] but none was described and none was retained. However, it is probable that if pottery of Geometric or later date had been present it would have been recorded during the excavation and there is no evidence of a marked hiatus prior to the construction of the rubble walls. There seems to be no reason to suppose that the structures do not belong to the Late Bronze Age and are here assigned to the RP3 phase of the 'Reoccupation Period'. There seems little prospect that the true age of these structures can now be determined.

There are two striking features of the N Entrance Passage. The first is that, if the walls and pavement date from the LM I period or earlier, there are no structures that can be attributed to the LM II/IIIA period. This suggests that the area suffered little damage from the fire that destroyed, for example, the W Magazines area in the closing stages of the LM III A period. Thus, although the paving slabs are slightly scorched, the lower parts of the ashlar walls of the passage show little evidence of burning, The second is the stratigraphical position of the Linear B tablets. It is considered that the majority of these were already stratified before the conflagration of LM III B date that scarred the walls in the area. The deposit that rested directly upon the limestone pavement in the N Entrance Passage yielded LM III A-B sherds and is presumed to consist in part, at least, of destruction debris from the LM II-III

A palace. The excavators reported no tablets from this deposit thus suggesting that it was already in place when the Linear B tablets of the overlying Inscriptions Deposit were baked.

The N Front region - general summary

The documents that relate to the excavation of the N Front region contain many references by the excavators to late structures, in some cases explicitly attributed to the 'Reoccupation'. In view of the indifferent quality of the ceramic evidence, elucidation of their stratigraphical relations is based on the recognition of two burnt horizons. The first of these, represented by the scorched paving slabs in the Room of the Lotus Lamp, is considered to result from the fire in LM III A2 that affected large parts of the 'Last Palace'. When the second fire occurred in the LM III B period, most of the 'Reoccupation' structures were already in place. The Linear B tablets found in the area were contained in deposit that was laid down during the interval between the two fires.

As in the rest of the palace, the structures of the 'Reoccupation Period' fall within two series. Belonging to the earlier series are the pavement with reused gypsum slabs in the Corridor of the Stone Basin, the plaster floor laid down in the Room of the Lotus Lamp area and the deposit that survived as a baulk in the N Entrance Passage until Evans' tests of 1913. These, and the walls and other structures associated with them (Fig. 6.45a) are assigned to the RP1 phase. The later features (Fig. 6.45b), including the deposits with Linear B tablets in the Room of the Stirrup Jars and the N Entrance Passage, date from the RP2 phase of the 'Reoccupation Period', which was terminated by the fire of LM III B.

The rubble walls of a quite substantial building of unknown but probable Late Bronze Age date in the N Entrance area (Fig. 6.45c) are assigned to the FB phase.

Chapter 7

THE FINDS AND THEIR CONTEXTS

In addition to being datable, for finds to have their full stratigraphical value, it is essential that during excavation their context is closely delimited and care is taken to avoid contamination. The finds must have their location, both in spatial and contextual terms, accurately defined and recorded. Where the context of the finds is a deposit, it is important that its mode of origin be determined. The post-excavation treatment and storage of the finds must ensure that their integrity is not compromised. Given the early date of the excavations at Knossos, it is not to be expected that these conditions will have been met. It is more appropriate to try to assess whether or not the materials retained from Evans' investigations have *any* stratigraphical value.

The pottery

Despite the early date of the investigations at the Palace, the stratigraphical importance of pottery was already well established and the excavators had no hesitation in comparing the material found at Knossos with that excavated at Bronze Age sites on mainland Greece and elsewhere. Mackenzie's understanding of the importance of pottery for stratigraphical purposes was no doubt fostered by his work at Phylokapi on Melos (Momigliano, 1999, 25). Nevertheless, in 1900, while Welch was in charge of the pottery, little was retained apart from whole vessels and possibly a small collection of sherds in the Iraklion Museum (Popham, 1970, 11). Thereafter, under Mackenzie's supervision, significant amounts of sherd material was set aside and stored in open baskets with wooden labels in various places in the Palace, such as the Throne Room (*see* Evans, 1905, 23) and the so-called 'Lair' in the Domestic Quarter. In the years following 1929, while Pendlebury was curator at Knossos, the material was transferred to open wooden boxes and rehoused on a more permanent basis. That the conditions under which the pottery had been kept were less than ideal is clearly indicated by Pendlebury's comment that he had relied on the memory of the Evans' foreman for the identification of 'a large number of samples for which no legible label existed'. A catalogue was prepared which listed the samples according to their find place (Pendlebury and others, 1933-35) and gave a general indication of the dates of the sherds present.

In the early 1960s, the sherd collection was removed to its present resting-place in the newly completed Stratigraphical Museum and reboxed (Popham, 1970, 12). The individual boxes were allotted numbers and listed in a Card Index. According to this, the pottery from Evans' excavations in the Palace and related sites is contained in a total of 1905 boxes, the provenance of 53 of which is not known. The majority of the boxes contain one or more wooden labels, hand-written in pencil by

Mackenzie. A few of the labels are blank or mainly illegible - the remainder give location details. Similar information is written on the outside of the boxes and given in the Card Index, which records that in some cases the wooden labels had been found misplaced. In order to facilitate handling of the data while investigating the Museum pottery, a computerised database was generated that combined the information contained in Pendlebury's catalogue and the Card Index (*see* Appendix 5.1a).

Depositional contexts

From his Daybooks it is clear that, during the crucial early years of the excavation, Mackenzie's attention was focussed mainly on the structures and he recorded little information about the deposits as they were removed. In the Daybooks and his Pottery Notebooks he provided a brief description and general location of a number of near intact vessels that almost certainly were in use when occupation of the site was ended by a fire of LM III B date (*see* Popham 1964). However, he said virtually nothing about the sherd pottery. That the deposit excavated in the early campaigns was complex is evident from the occurrence of Post-Minoan sherds in boxes from many localities within the palace, as is recorded in the published catalogue of the pottery in the Stratigraphical Museum (Pendlebury and others, 1933-5). No structures associated with this late pottery were recorded by the excavators and it is presumed that the sherds were mainly derived from contexts of restricted extent, such as the backfill of pits and robbers' trenches not detected during the excavation.

The uppermost floor recognised by the excavators at a number of localities on the palace site was of earth. It would appear these were commonly recognised because artefacts, still in their original position, lay upon them, as in South Basements area and in the upper storey room over the Basement of the Loom Weights. The present study has shown, on the evidence of scorchmarks, that the distribution of earth floors laid over the pavements of the 'Last Palace' was much more extensive than the excavators realised, suggesting that the deposits from above and below the floor were of a similar composition. Where an earth floor was present but escaped detection, its makeup and, for example, an overlying destruction deposit would almost certainly have been treated as a single context. If the pottery recovered included Post-Minoan sherds there is a possibility that an assemblage from the deposit that lay between the pre-excavation ground surface and a paved floor of the 'Last Palace' had been shared between at least three contexts. Even at localities where Mackenzie noted that the deposit was stratified, there is no indication that the pottery from different layers was kept separate (*see* Popham, 1970, 11).

These comments obviously apply only to the pottery collected during the campaigns of 1900 to 1902, when the deposit that lay upon what was considered to be the floor of the 'Last Palace' was removed.

The pottery recovered subsequently, for example in a series of tests carried out by Evans in 1913, was mostly from contexts that the excavators considered were sealed beneath the palace floors.

Post-excavation degradation

The careless manner in which the pottery collection held in the Stratigraphical Museum was stored prior to Pendlebury's intervention constitutes grounds for questioning its integrity. Some estimate of its reliability is possible because, in his Pottery Notebooks, Mackenzie described in some detail samples recovered during the campaigns of 1901 and 1902. Book I, for 1901, contains descriptions of 83 assemblages; Books II and III together describe 92 samples of pottery collected in 1902. However, according to the Card Index, the numbers of boxes in the Stratigraphical Museum collection said to date from 1901 and 1902 are 81 and 122 respectively. Thus there is an obvious problem in correlating Mackenzie's sample descriptions with the assemblages.

Some of the boxes of sherds contain wooden labels that give, in Mackenzie's handwriting, a page reference to the Pottery Notebooks which is usually but not always repeated on the outside of the box. In the case of Box 473, the page references given on label and box do not agree. In a few cases, a page reference is given on a box for which the label is illegible or missing or does not refer to the Pottery Notebooks. Of the boxes dated to 1901, 29 contain labels, which refer to the Pottery Notebooks; on another 7 the attribution is confined to the box. The corresponding numbers for the boxes with pottery from the 1902 campaign are 43 and 11. This means that for 47 (57 per cent) of the assemblage descriptions in the Pottery Notebook for 1901 and 38 (41 per cent) in the 1902 Books, there is no statement of any kind linking Mackenzie's description with the surviving pottery. Also, 45 (56 per cent) of the boxes listed in the Card Index as dating to 1901 and 68 (56 per cent) of the 1902 boxes give no direct reference to the Pottery Notebooks.

On the basis of an investigation of the Palace pottery, Hallager (1977, 86-90, tables 1-3) suggested a further 29 and 17 boxes as equivalents of the Pottery Notebook descriptions of 1901 and 1902 respectively but many of his suggestions cannot be accepted. For example, he proposed Box 1278 as a match for either entry PNB II 35-35[1] or PNB II 36-36 rather than PNB II 39-39 indicated on label and box. Also, in 16 cases he suggested correlations involving Box 1850. This is dated to 1900 in the Card Index and contained pottery 'From different areas' which included sherds that were inscribed with their find place in pencil. In another four cases, he proposed Box 1873, which is indexed as 'Evans' material. No provenance'. Among the material in both these boxes were sherds, from a number of different localities, which were sketched by Mackenzie in his Pottery Notebooks and can be identified

[1] Pottery Notebook Volume II - the numbers are those of the pages on which Mackenzie's description starts and ends.

on photographs held in the Ashmolean Museum. It is inferred that the boxes contain sherds which had been selected from the Palace pottery as a whole, in some cases for photography, rather than true excavation samples, and any correlation involving them may therefore be discounted. In all, no more than 22 of the additional attributions suggested by Hallager appear to be worth consideration.

The contents of the boxes were compared with the supposedly corresponding descriptions of pottery samples from the Palace given in Mackenzie's Pottery Notebooks for 1901 and 1902. At this early stage of the excavation, Mackenzie had not fully developed his classificatory system of the Palace pottery and recognised only three main categories. These consisted of 'Neolithic', which probably includes materials later classed as Early Minoan, 'Kamares' - comprising Middle Minoan ware with some Early Minoan which he termed 'Prehistoric Geometric', and 'Mycenaean'. Into the last category he placed all the pottery of the Late Minoan period (*see* Popham 1970, 14) but distinguished pottery of the 'Grand Palace Style' as well as 'late degenerate ware' of the 'Reoccupation', which he commonly referred to as Late Mycenean. For each of the main categories of pottery, Mackenzie supplied counts of complete or nearly complete vessels and the numbers of rims-sherds, bases, handles, spouts and necks, and sherds which were 'fragmented all round'. The Pottery Notebooks also provide detailed descriptions of a number of distinctive sherds, in some cases illustrated by a sketch or tracing. A number of the entries refer to more sketches than are actually present and marks of adhesive on some pages show where tracings have been removed.

In the present study, the sherds in all boxes attributed to the 1901 and 1902 campaigns were classified in accordance with Mackenzie's categories and counted. Some latitude must be allowed when comparing these counts with Mackenzie's as some rim-sherds and bases also have a handle and there is a choice of category to which the sherds can be assigned. Also, sherds are liable to have been broken while in storage and others have been removed and incorporated in restored vessels, for example, at least four sherds illustrated by Popham (1970, pl. 34f) from Box 781. In some cases, the sherds from a single locality appear to have been divided into two lots. The sherd counts are held in a computerised database (*see* Appendix 5.1a).

It is not unusual to find that some of the figured sherds are missing from a box sample that otherwise agrees well with a Pottery Notebook entry and in a number of cases the missing sherds have been located in other boxes. A partial explanation for the sherds being misplaced may lie in references in the Pottery Notebooks to the setting aside of material for photography and, in fact, more than 40 of the sketched sherds have been identified in photographs held in the Ashmolean Museum (Table 7.1). Evidently, some sherds had not been replaced in their original context after photography. Thus, a rim-fragment with a floral motif sketched on page 44 of PNB I is now in Box 492, which almost

Table 7.1. List of sherds sketched by Mackenzie in his Pottery Notebooks and illustrated on photographs in the Ashmolean Museum

Photo No.	PNB Number	Location
0330.c	PNB II.61(3)	Area of the Fallen Blocks
0330.f	PNB II.22(3)	Area of the Sword Tablets
0330.g	PNB II.78(3)	SE Stair region
0330.h	PNB II.78(2)	SE Stair region
0330.i (part)	PNB II.8(1)	SE Palace Region, surface deposit
0330.j	PNB II.61(4)	Area of the Fallen Blocks
0330.k (part)	PNB II.67(1)	N Pits
0346.f	PNB I.68	Area of the Cowboy Fresco
0346.g	PNB I.63	Basement of the Loom Weights
0346.j	PNB I.34(2)	Area of the Inscribed Vase
0346.l	PNB I.45A(5)	N Palace Region - W Magazine XVII
0346.n	?PNB 1.66(3)	Corridor of the Demon Seals
0346.p	?PNB I.34(1)	Area of Inscribed Vase
0346.r	?PNB I.66(4)	Corridor of the Demon Seals
0347.j	?PNB II.11(2)	Area of the Cowboy Fresco
0347.l	PNB I.67A(5)	Passage of Demon Seals
0347.p	PNB I.69A(2)	Area of the Cowboy Fresco
0348.a	PNB II.11	Area of the Cowboy Fresco
0348.b	PNB II.36	Bay 2 S of Area of Fish Fresco
0348.c	PNB II.49	SE Rubbish Heap
0348.e	PNB II.82	From different Areas - NE Pits
0348.k	PNB II.1(2)	E Slope Surface Deposit
0348.m	PNB II.57	N Pits, Basket 3
0348.q	PNB II.79A(6)	SE Stair region
0349.b	PNB II.77(4)	Room called 'the Lair'
0349.c	PNB II.77(3)	Room called 'the Lair'
0349.g	PNB II.43	Room of W Seat
0350.a	PNB II.42(3)	Room of W Seat, S from Light Well
0350.k	PNB II.79A(7)	From SE Stair region
0350.n	PNB II.8(3)	SE Palace Region
0350.o	PNB II.29(1)	SE of E Stairway
0350.q	PNB II.79(2)	SE Stair region
0351.a	PNB I.69(1)	Area of the Cowboy Fresco
0351.d	PNB I.35	N Palace Region. ?W Magazine XVII
0351.h	PNB I.27	Lot from N Square
0351.i	PNB I.39	NE Pits
0351.l	PNB I.45B (top)	N Palace Region. ?W Magazine XVII
0351.m	PNB I.58	W Magazine 18
0352.j	PNB I.67(2)	Passage of Demon Seals
0352.o	PNB I.53(4)	N Portico Region
0352.q	PNB I.31	SE Stair region
0352.r	PNB I.52(1)	N Portico Region
0352.s	PNB I.52(2)	N Portico Region
0352.t	PNB I.31(1)	NE Pits
0352.y (part)	PNB I.30(1)	NE Pits
0353.g	PNB II.28(3)	E Stair

0352 = the number given to the negative in the Ashmolean Museum during the recent curation by N Momigliano. The single character suffix refers to the position of the sherd in the key to the photographs given on Fig. 7.1.

PNB I.53(4) = Pottery Notebook I, p. 53, sketch (4)

certainly contains the assemblage described by Mackenzie in PNB I 23-24. A total of five sherds that had been sketched and photographed were discovered in boxes 1873 and 1874, which are described as having no provenance. Also, according to Popham (1970, p. 23), four sketched sherds from Box 1254 are now in the collection of the Iraklion Museum. It should be noted that the provenance of the sketched and photographed sherds would seem to be assured even where they have been lost or displaced from their original assemblage.

Generally, the Pottery Notebooks provide from 10 to more than 20 characteristic features for each group of sherds described that allow them to be compared with the actual samples. For many samples the number of points of comparison is small in relation to the total number of sherds and matching the sample with the Pottery Notebook description involves a considerable degree of subjectivity. Nevertheless, in some cases, the match appears almost perfect; in others, any possibility that the sample is that described by Mackenzie can be ruled out. Box 1076, for example, contains almost 600 Neolithic to Middle Minoan sherds whereas the supposedly corresponding description on pages 50-51 of Pottery Notebook III lists 12 whole vessels and only 34 sherds. In general, the matches can be categorised only as 'good', 'probable' and 'none or unlikely'. Of the 35 samples from 1901 out of the 36, which have a page reference to the Pottery Notebooks on the box and/or the label, only 29 (81 per cent) can be regarded as good or probable matches (*see* Table 7.2a below). The proportion for the 1902 samples is lower, amounting to no more than 34 (63 per cent) out of a total of 54. To these can be added the sample in Box 1408, which appears to contain only the whole vessels, described in PNB III 62-64. When the 22 plausible correlations proposed by Hallager (1977) were assessed in the same way, only 7 for 1901 and 4 for 1902 are considered to fall within the good or probable categories. The assessment of the pottery for 1901 and 1902 was carried out without reference to that by Popham (1970) but reached similar conclusions with regard to the 23 samples from these years that he examined.

An attempt was made to identify further matches between boxes dating from 1901 and 1902 and the Pottery Notebook entries for those years. Initial correlations were made on the basis of sherd counts but examination of the Pottery Notebook descriptions showed that the majority of comparisons made on this basis alone were unacceptable. This is not surprising as in the case of some correlations that are almost certainly valid, the sherd counts in the Pottery Notebook descriptions differ considerably from those in the corresponding boxes. The results of the investigation of samples said to be from test pits in W Magazine 3 and in the West Court, given in Appendix 5.2, are typical, with probable matches for only 10 out of 22 boxes. Only 12 new correlations are proposed here (Table 7.2a) and in some cases they rely heavily on the recognition of the handful of sherds sketched by Mackenzie. The results of the survey are summarised on Table 7.2b. This shows a full total of only 86 acceptable matches

Table 7.2a. Pottery Notebook entries for 1901 and 1902, with matching pottery samples in the Stratigraphical Museum

Mackenzie's page ref.		Date	Location	Page ref. (Label/Box)		Box No.	Source	Match	LP
PNB I	1 2	1901	Central Square trial pit - 6th Day.	Y	Y	848	SMK	+	Neol
PNB I	2 3	1901	Central Square trial pit - 5th Day.	Y	Y	847	SMK	+	Neol
PNB I	3 3	1901	Central Square trial pit - 4th Day.	Y	Y	846	SMK	+	Neol
PNB I	3 4	1901	Central Square trial pit - 3rd Day.	Y	Y	845	SMK	+	Neol
PNB I	4 4	1901	Central Square trial pit - 2nd Day.	Y	Y	844	SMK	+	Neol
PNB I	4 5	1901	Central Square trial pit - 1st Day.	Y	Y	843	SMK	+	Neol
PNB I	5 6	1901	3rd Magazine Trial Pit. 6th Metre. II.	N	Y	539	SMK	+	Neol
PNB I	6 6	1901	3rd Magazine Trial Pit. 5th Metre. III.	N	Y	538	SMK	+	MM
PNB I	7 7	1901	3rd Magazine Trial Pit. 4th Metre. IV.	Y	Y	537	SMK	+	MM
PNB I	7 8	1901	3rd Magazine Trial Pit. 3rd Metre. V.	I	Y	148	IP	\	EM
PNB I	8 9	1901	3rd Magazine Trial Pit. 2nd Metre. VI.	N	N	534	IP	+	MM
PNB I	11 11	1901	W. Square Trial-pit. 7th Metre. II.	N	N	158	IP	+	MM
PNB I	11 12	1901	W. Square Trial-pit. 6th Metre. III.	N	N	157	IP	+	MM
PNB I	12 12	1901	W. Square Trial-pit. 5th Metre. IV.	N	N	155	IP	+	Neol
PNB I	13 13	1901	W. Square Trial-pit. 4th Metre. V.	M	N	148	IP	\	EM
PNB I	18 19	1901	W. Square Trial-pit. 1st Metre. VIII.	N	N	146	IP	+	MM
PNB I	21 22	1901	Pottery of the West Pits.	Y	Y	1741	SMK	?	PM
PNB I	23 24	1901	Basket from S Pits.	M	N	492	EH	+	PM
PNB I	24 24	1901	Pottery from N Front of Palace	Y	Y	596	SMK	+	LM III
PNB I	25 25	1901	N Entrance. N of Projecting Bastion.	N	Y	860	SMK	?	LM III
PNB I	26 27	1901	N Foundations.	Y	Y	*594	SMK	+	PM
PNB I	28 28	1901	NW of N Tank.	M	N	*630	EH	?	LM III
PNB I	28 29	1901	NW Angle.	Y	Y	493	SMK	+	LM III
PNB I	29 29	1901	NW House area.	Y	Y	116	SMK	+	LM III
PNB I	31 32	1901	SW Foundations.	Y	N	473	SMK	+	LM III
PNB I	35 35	1901	SE Front.	M	Y	*786	SMK	+	LM III
PNB I	38 38	1901	NE Pits.	Y	Y	1091	SMK	+	LM III
PNB I	39 41	1901	NE Pits.	Y	Y	1092	SMK	+	PM
PNB I	45 46	1901	N Palace Region - 17th Magazine?	Y	Y	*561	SMK	+	PM
PNB I	47 48	1901	Area N of 18th Magazine.	N	N	562	EH	+	LM III
PNB I	49 50	1901	NW House - Kamares deposits.	Y	Y	115	SMK	?	LM III
PNB I	50 51	1901	N Foundations.	Y	Y	*595	SMK	+	LM III
PNB I	51 53	1901	N Palace Region.	Y	Y	645	SMK	+	LM II
PNB I	53 54	1901	16th Magazine.	N	N	*559	EH	+	LM I
PNB I	54 55	1901	SW Foundations.	N	Y	472	SMK	+	LM II
PNB I	62 63	1901	W of the Chess-board.	N	N	*924	EH	+	LM III
PNB I	65 66	1901	Area of the NE Rubbish-heap.	Y	N	873	SMK	?	LM III
PNB I	66 68	1901	Passage of the Demon Seals.	N	N	*1254	EH	?	LM III
PNB I	68 68	1901	Corridor N of Drain-head.	M	N	*1244	EH	?	LM III
PNB I	70 71	1901	4th Magazine - 2nd Kasella from W End.	Y	Y	541-2	SMK	/	LM I
PNB I	72 74	1901	Area of the Cowboy fresco.	N	N	1223-4	MP	/	LM III
PNB I	76 78	1901	H4 - room of the Jewel-fresco.	Y	N	729	SMK	+	MM
PNB I	86 87	1901	E Kamares Well - basket 1.	N	N	1113	IP	+	PM
PNB I	88 89	1901	E Kamares Well - basket 2.	Y	Y	959	SMK	+	MM
PNB I	89 91	1901	E Kamares Well - basket 3.	Y	Y	960	SMK	+	MM

Table 7.2a contd.

Mackenzie's Page ref.	Date	Location	Page ref. Label/Box)		Box No.	Source	Match	LP
PNB II 1	3 1902	E slope - Surface deposit.	Y	N	*491	SMK	+	LM III
PNB II 8	9 1902	SE Palace Region - Surface deposit.	Y	Y	1382	SMK	+	LM III
PNB II 10	12 1902	Area of the Cowboy fresco.	N	N	*967	EH	+	LM III
PNB II 13	14 1902	Area N of Area of the Cowboy fresco.	N	N	972	EH	+	LM III
PNB II 15	16 1902	Partly Neolithic deposit of E Foundations	Y	Y	1079	SMK	+	LM II
PNB II 17	17 1902	E stair Terrace Foundations.	Y	Y	1104	SMK	+	LM II
PNB II 18	18 1902	E stair Terrace Foundations.	Y	N	1078	SMK	+	MM
PNB II 19	19 1902	Upper E Foundations	Y	Y	1081	SMK	+	LM III
PNB II 20	20 1902	Area of the Shrine. SE Palace Region.	Y	Y	1371	SMK	+	MM
PNB II 21	22 1902	Area of the Sword Tablets.	N	Y	*1377	SMK	+	LM III
PNB II 23	24 1902	E Slope Neolithic deposit.	Y	Y	1082	SMK	?	LM
PNB II 28	28 1902	Area of E stairway.	Y	Y	*1098	SMK	+	LM III
PNB II 29	30 1902	Constructions S of E Bastion	Y	Y	*1099	SMK	?	LM III
PNB II 31	31 1902	Area of Fish fresco.	Y	Y	*1280	SMK	?	LM III
PNB II 32	32 1902	Area E of S Tank.	Y	N	1379	SMK	?	LM I
PNB II 34	34 1902	Area S of SE Rubbish-heap.	Y	Y	1384	SMK	+	MMIII
PNB II 39	39 1902	Light Well S of Area of Fish fresco.	Y	Y	*1278	SMK	+	LM III
PNB II 40	41 1902	Area of Fish fresco.	N	Y	*1281	SMK	+	LM III
PNB II 42	43 1902	Room of W Seat, S from Light-well.	I	N	*1243	EH	+	LM III
PNB II 51	51 1902	Slope Foundations.	Y	N	1359	SMK	?	MMIII
PNB II 63	64 1902	Area of Fallen Blocks. N of NE Shoot.	Y	Y	1064	SMK	?	LM III
PNB II 65	66 1902	Area of Fallen Blocks. N of NE Shoot.	Y	Y	1065	SMK	?	LM III
PNB II 67	68 1902	N Pits (3 baskets).	N	N	1378	IP	+	LM III
PNB II 70	71 1902	Area N of NE Shoot.	Y	Y	1067	SMK	+	LM III
PNB II 72	73 1902	NE Rubbish-heap - deep excavation.	I	Y	874	SMK	+	LM I
PNB II 75	75 1902	Area of N Pillar bases, N Entrance.	Y	N	856	SMK	+	LM III
PNB II 76	76 1902	Area of New Threshing-floor Area.	Y	Y	1496	SMK	+	LM I
PNB II 77	77 1902	Room called 'Lair'	N	N	*1255	SMK	?	LM III
PNB II 81	83 1902	Different Areas. NE Pits.	Y	Y	*1089	SMK	+	LM III
PNB III 5	5 1902	E Kamares Well 18th Metre.	Y	Y	964	SMK	?	MM
PNB III 8	8 1902	E Kamares Well 20th M.	Y	Y	966	SMK	+	MM
PNB III 16	16 1902	Area of Spiral-fresco. 4th M.	Y	Y	1205	SMK	+	Neol
PNB III 25	25 1902	R. of Olive Press, 2nd M below floor.	I	N	1200	IP	?	Neol
PNB III 27	27 1902	NE Shoot. E of limekiln	N	N	1071	EH	+	MM
PNB III 28	29 1902	Area S of Area of Spiral fresco.	Y	Y	1191	SMK	?	MM
PNB III 32	33 1902	NE Shoot.	N	Y	1094	SMK	+	LM I
PNB III 37	38 1902	NE Kamares Area E of limekiln.	I	Y	1070	SMK	+	MM
PNB III 42	43 1902	Kamares walls underlying limekiln.	I	I	1077	IP	+	LM III
PNB III 44	46 1902	Kamares deposit. NE Shoot.	Y	Y	1074	SMK	+	MM
PNB III 62	64 1902	SE Stair-region.	Y	N	1408	SMK	!	LM II
PNB III 47	49 1902	NE Kamares Area (NE Shoot).	Y	Y	1075	SMK	?	MM

\+ Good match ? Probable match ! intact vessels only

/ 1 Pottery Notebook lot split between 2 boxes \ 2 Pottery Notebook lots in 1 box

* Matching PNB entries and boxes according to Popham, 1970

LP latest pottery **SMK** Page references on label and/or box

EH Hallager (1977) **IP** this account **MP** Popham (1970)

leaving about 51 per cent of the entries for 1901 and 1902 without a corresponding pottery sample and approximately 57 per cent of the samples without a matching Pottery Notebook entry.

Table 7.2b. Summary of Pottery Notebook entries for 1901 and 1902 and pottery samples in the Stratigraphical Museum.

Source	Nature of match	1901	1902	1901 and 1902
SMK	+	24	22	46
	?	5	11	16
	!		1	1
	Totals	**29**	**34**	**63**
EH	+	4	4	8
	?	3		3
	Totals	**7**	**4**	**11**
IP	+	6	2	8
	?		1	1
	\	2		2
	Totals	**8**	**3**	**11**
MP	/	1		2
	Totals	**1**	**0**	**1**
Grand totals		**45**	**38**	**86**

There are considerable difficulties attending on any attempt to improve the situation. The composition of the samples suggests that in some cases the whole vessels have been separated from the sherds. In other cases, it appears that samples described in two entries in the Pottery Notebooks have been combined in one box. The correlation by Popham (1970, 38) of samples in boxes 1223 and 1224 (wrongly 1222-1223), which are dated to 1913, with an entry in Mackenzie's Pottery Notebook for 1901, widens the area of search to include all samples that are not already validated by reference to the excavation documents.

It is evident that much of the pottery collected during the campaigns of 1901 and 1902 was from insecure contexts and it has been much degraded in the post-excavation period. Most of the damage to the sherd collection no doubt occurred prior to Pendlebury's attempt to conserve it. There is evidence that Mackenzie and Evans were not entirely scrupulous in returning to their proper place sherds abstracted for photographic or other purposes. It is disappointing that so few of the assemblages from the campaigns of 1901 and 1902 in the Stratigraphical Museum can be identified with Mackenzie's descriptions. On the other hand, the matches that can be made establish Mackenzie's general credibility as a reporter and means that the assemblages described in his Pottery Notebooks but not

located in the Museum collection are of some stratigraphical value. Also, a find place can be assigned with some confidence to 46 sherds illustrated on photographs in the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 7.1).

What is less clear is how the results of the investigation affect the status of the pottery collected during the years after 1902, for which there is only limited contemporaneous documentation. For example, Mackenzie's Pottery Notebook describes only about 60 out of a total of 345 samples that were retained from the 1904 campaign. On the other hand, whereas box numbers for the 1901 and 1902 samples are widely dispersed through Pendlebury's catalogue, perhaps reflecting haphazard storage, box numbers for the pottery collected in later years from particular areas tend to occur consecutively in blocks. In this connection, it is worth recalling that, by 1905, Evans (1905, 23) had caused shelves to be erected in the Throne Room to hold baskets of pottery from the Palace. Finally, it is reasonable to assume that the small, mainly sub-floor tests, typical of the later investigations, were carried out by a smaller, more carefully supervised work force.

As a spot check, a series of samples from tests in the South Propylaeum (Boxes 774 - 781) was examined. The pottery assemblages show good agreement with the admittedly brief descriptions in Mackenzie's Daybook for 1925. Samples from the later investigations in various parts of the Palace were assessed by Popham (1970), Hallager (1977) and Momigliano (1992) and judged by them to be reliable. It is possible, therefore, that improved excavation technique and better curation has preserved the integrity of the pottery collected in the later years of the excavations. Nevertheless, it is obvious that great care must be taken when using it to support stratigraphical arguments (*cf.* Popham, 1970, 10-11; Hallager, 1977, 14).

Stratigraphical significance of the pottery

The excavators recorded with some precision the position of some complete vessels, notably from rooms in the South Basement area, the W Magazines, the Room of the Lotus Lamp area and the School Room. As a result of the meticulous work of Popham (1964; 1970), a number of these have been identified. A few, for example the pithoi found in the South Propylaeum (Evans, 1928, fig. 433; Popham, 1964, pl. Ib) and the stirrup jars in the Queen's Megaron (Boardman, 1963, pl. XIVb), were photographed in their original context. This pottery leaves little doubt that the fire that terminated habitation in the RP2 phase of the 'Reoccupation Period' occurred during the LM III B period.

Most of the sherds from the campaigns of 1901 and 1902 were obtained from deposit that lay between the paved floor considered by Evans and Mackenzie to belong to the Last Palace and the base of the pre-excavation soil layer. The present study has shown that in many parts of the palace this deposit did not consist only of the debris of the final destruction but included the makeup for earth floors that in some cases were not recognised. It is likely that the makeup material consisted largely of debris

cleared from the palace after each of a series of earlier destructions and had been reused in the construction of its successor. This explains why in the sherd assemblages recovered at many locations there are representatives of a wide range of ceramic zones. Thus, according to the data published by Pendlebury and others (1933-5), 267 out of a total of 406 lots contain Neolithic sherds in association with later pottery and, of these, 78 also include sherds of Late Minoan date (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3. Locations within the Palace complex where the pottery ranges in date from Neolithic to Late Minoan. [1]

Area	Number of localities	Localities with Late Minoan sherds				Percentage of localities with LM sherds
		LM 1	LM II	LM III	Totals	
B	16	2	1	1	4	25
C	12	1	1	2	4	33
D	21	1	1	5	7	33
E	34		2	3	5	15
F	15	1		1	2	13
G	14		1	3	4	29
H	3			1	1	33
I	24	2		1	3	13
J	10	2		2	4	40
K	9	1			1	11
L	29	2	3	5	10	34
M	16	3	1	1	5	31
N	43	13	1	5	19	44
O	13	2		5	7	54
Q	1	1			1	100
R	7	1			1	14
Totals	**267**	**32**	**11**	**35**	**78**	**29**

In situations where an earth floor was present but not detected, there is a strong possibility that its makeup deposit was mistaken for destruction debris. The sherds released into the destruction deposit by the disintegration of rubble walls as well as the majority of those in the makeup layer are likely to have been residual. It is possible that only a handful of contemporaneous sherds found their way into the makeup deposit as it was being laid down. If these are rejected as 'intrusions' there is a risk that the antiquity of the underlying paved floor of the Last Palace and the date when the building associated with it was destroyed may be seriously overestimated.

[1] The data are from Pendlebury and others (1933-5). It should be noted that classification of Minoan pottery has altered since 1935 and that the figures given here are likely to have changed somewhat.

The high proportion of residual material in the 86 samples for which Pottery Box entries have been identified (*see* Table 7.4) confirms in detail what was indicated by the review of the data in Pendlebury's catalogue. Thus, in only 28 (34 per cent) do all the sherds belong to a single ceramic period, mainly either Neolithic or 'Kamares'. In 10 boxes, the sherds ranged in date from Neolithic to post-Minoan - in a further 23, sherds of Neolithic to Late Minoan date were present. In some cases, the proportion of residual material seems too great to be attributed solely to the release of early sherds reused in the earth infill of rubble walls.

Table 7.4. Mackenzie's pottery, according to period.

Box No.	Pottery Notebook Reference	Total sherds	Neolithic		'Kamares'		'Mycenaean'		Post-Minoan	
			Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
848	PB I 1 2	66	66	100						
847	PB I 2 3	227	227	100						
846	PB I 3 3	270	270	100						
845	PB I 3 4	146	147	100						
843	PB I 4 5	334	334	100						
539	PB I 5 6	164	164	100						
538	PB I 6 6	196	196	100						
537	PB I 7 7	550	550	100						
534	PB I 8 9	651	651	100						
158	PB I 11 12	256	254	99	2	1				
157	PB I 12 12	135	135	100						
594	PB I 26 28	112					112	100		
493	PB I 28 29	49					48	98	1	2
116	PB I 29 29	190					190	100		
473	PB I 31 32	120			2	2	118	98		
1092	PB I 39 41	35	4	11	8	23	23	66		
561	PB I 45 46	39	1	2	2	5	35	85	1	3
562	PB I 47 48	50	8	16	6	12	34	68		
645	PB I 51 53	89	40	45	7	8	42	47		
729	PB I 76 78	76	5	6	26	34	45	59		
959	PB I 88 89	42			42	100				
960	PB I 89 91	79			78	100				
1382	PB II 8 9	43	1	2			42	97		
972	PB II 13 14	46	6	13	20	43	20	43		
1078	PB II 18 18	204	189	92	15	7				
1081	PB II 19 19	35			31	89	4	11		
1377	PB II 21 22	56					56	100		
1384	PB II 34 34	19			14	74	5	26		
1278	PB II 39 39	57					57	100		
1281	PB II 40 41	50					50	100		
1243	PB II 42 43	160					160	100		
1067	PB II 70 71	20	1	5	2	10	17	75		
1496	PB II 76 76	40	7	18	3	8	20	50	10	25
1089	PB II 81 83	165	66	40	15	9	79	47	5	03

Further evidence that at least some of the deposit found in the palace had been introduced for use as fill or makeup lies in the network of 'joining' sherds recognised by Popham (1970) and others. Thus, sherds in Box 871 from the late structure buttressing the W wall of the South Propylaeum (Popham, 1970, 46-7) link it with W Magazine 8 (Box 544) and with W Magazine 18 (Popham, 1970, 48; 56-7).

Joining sherds link the 18th Magazine (Box 563) with the sample in Box 594 from the 'North Foundations' (Popham, 1970, 43; 48). Sherds from the N Entrance area (Test 77, Box 870) are from the same vase as sherds described from W Magazine XII (Popham, 1970, 43). In the E Wing, sherds in Box 1254, from the Corridor of the Demon Seals, join with sherds from the 'Lair' (Box 1255), from the Room of the W Seat (Boxes 1243 and 1245), from the SE House (Boxes 1380-1) and from the NW House (Boxes 47-48) (Popham, 1970, 22-3). All the sherds involved were considered by Popham to be of LM III A date.

Hallager (1977, 24) noted that joining sherds from a kylix of LM II/III date occurred in samples from cists 5 (Box 521) and 6 (Box 523), that lay beneath a later pavement in the Long Corridor. Also, a sherd from the South Front (Box 473) joined with one in Box 596 from the N Front of the palace. Sherds found loose in Box 1850, but marked as being from W Magazine 18 and from the SW Foundations, join with sherds from the N Foundation (Box 593) and the Area NW of N Tank, respectively. In the present investigation, a sherd in Box 473 from the NW Angle was found to join with another in Box 493 from the SW Foundations. Sherds probably from the same vase were found in Boxes 774, 779 and 782 from sub-floor investigations carried out in the South Propylaeum in 1923-25. Others from a second vessel were found in Boxes 778 and 782 from the same series of tests. The information on the joining sherds is summarised on Fig. 7.2.

Popham (1970, 44) considered that the joining sherds were contained in the deposit which was laid down as a result of the destruction by fire of the Last Palace and attributed their wide dispersal, up to a distance of 125m, to the violence of the destruction. This conclusion was resisted by Hallager (1977, 75-81) who argued instead that the deposit consisted of fill or makeup. He pointed out that some sherds from the deposit had a layer of lime over their surface, including over the broken edges, which suggested that they had previously been incorporated within the fabric of the building. Furthermore, in most if not all cases, to judge from the excavation descriptions, the deposit apparently lay beneath later floors - a point earlier made by Palmer (1973a, 62). Comments by Mackenzie (1903, 185) regarding the find circumstances of the pottery from W Magazine XVIII strongly imply that it was found beneath an earth floor. The joining sherds in the cists in the Long Corridor and W Magazine XIII obviously made their way there when fill was laid down during the construction of a new paved floor at a higher level. Mackenzie's account of the excavation of the Corridor of the Demon Seals suggests that samples in the Museum collection from this area may have come from beneath a clayey floor about 0.60-0.70m above the paved floor (*see* Chapter 4). While the above considerations do not prove Hallager's case, his conclusion accords better with the evidence than that of Popham. It must be emphasised, however, that acceptance of his view in no way invalidates Popham's contention that a major conflagration occurred while LM III A pottery was in use in the palace. Nor is there any reason to doubt that the buildings affected by the fire constituted the Last Palace, as envisaged by Evans.

Intrusive pottery

The stratigraphical conclusions reached by workers on the basis of the pottery from the Palace at Knossos are commonly at variance with those of Evans, particularly with regard to the later periods of occupation at the site. In most cases, the conflict of opinion arose not from disagreement over the dating of individual pieces but rather from differing attitudes regarding the significance to be accorded the latest material within the assemblages. The conflict arises where the latest sherds in a pottery sample are few in number, as there are many opportunities during excavation and afterwards when contamination can occur. This is particularly true of the Knossos excavation, which was carried out at great speed by largely untrained, poorly supervised workmen and where the treatment of the finds was less than adequate. Additionally, as pointed out above, the contexts of much of the pottery from the early campaigns are insecure.

There are number of cases, however, where the excavators documented the occurrence of inconveniently late sherds from apparently sealed contexts. One important example involves the pottery from a test excavation into the filling between the gypsum orthostates of the West Facade in 1907. According to Evans (1921, 129 footnote 1), the sherds were mainly of MM I-II age but there was one 'obviously intrusive' fragment of LM I pottery. Mackenzie's account of the same assemblage (**D.1907:101**) states that there were no LM I fragments but that one sherd each of LM II and LM III date was present. According to him, these were *'stray and got in with the final destruction of the Palace'* (**D.1907:102**). Evans and Mackenzie concluded that the West Facade of the Palace had been constructed in the MM I period and remodelled in MM III times. Earlier tests into the interior of the W Facade, carried out in 1905 but not mentioned by Mackenzie, had also yielded 'some Late Minoan fragments' (Evans, 1905, 21). Further tests undertaken in 1925, made at the back of Magazine I (Evans, 1928, 665) recovered 'a few intrusive Late Minoan fragments'.

A second example concerns a series of tests carried out in 1925 in the South Propylaeum that revealed, beneath its east wall, a hitherto undiscovered cist belonging to an earlier propylaeum. According to Evans (PoM ii, 701, footnote 3), the pottery contained in the cist was *'overwhelmingly representative of MM III'* but included *'as intrusive elements. . . . some fragments of a Late Minoan pithos and two painted LM I sherds'*. The occurrence of Late Minoan material was confirmed by Mackenzie (5-6_**D.1925:31L**) who concluded that the MM III sherds that occurred belonged to the time when the cist was in use while the LM I - III sherds were intrusive in the sense that *'they came where they were found after the chest had gone out of use and was filled in'*. Late Minoan sherds were found in several other tests which penetrated the floor of the later Propylaeum and Mackenzie was in no doubt that the structure was of Late Minoan date. Evans, on the other hand, considered the later Propylaeum 'to form a part of the great rebuilding that took place on the site of Knossos after the widespread catastrophe towards the close of the Third Middle Minoan Period' (Evans, 1928, 701).

An analysis was carried out of the information in the Stratigraphical Museum catalogue (Pendlebury, 1933-5) regarding sherd pottery from 15 campaigns in the years between 1900 to 1929. When the area adjacent to the Royal Road, the Theatral Area, the 'NW Acropolis' and the koulouras in the West Court are excluded, the catalogue gives the location and excavation date of about 406 'Lots' of pottery from within the Palace and its immediate vicinity. In 119 of these, the sherds belonging to the latest ceramic period range in number from one to 'a few'. The proportion of 'Lots' for which this is the case can be determined for each of the excavation years (Table 7.4). There is only a slight tendency for the ratios to diminish in the later investigations.

If the small numbers of sherds of the youngest ceramic period are in every case attributed to contamination this would suggest that there had been little improvement in technique during the period of the excavation or in the processing and curation of finds. This seems unlikely, especially as

Table 7.5. Pottery samples at the Palace of Knossos containing small numbers of the latest sherds present. [1]

Year	Total 'lots' per year	'Lots' per year with late sherds	'Lots' per year with late sherds (per cent)
1900	3	1	33
1901	33	9	27
1902	48	11	23
1903	52	21	40
1904	85	24	28
1905	47	15	32
1908	21	3	14
1910	7	2	28
1913	51	15	29
1922	15	1	7
1923	5	2	40
1924	16	1	6
1925	16	3	18
1928	30	5	16
1929	31	6	19

the majority of the later excavations, carried out after the palace remains had been uncovered, consisted of shallow trials beneath floors and within walls.

Post-excavation contamination remains a possibility but, in some cases at least, the presence of the few late sherds is confirmed in near-contemporaneous documents, for example, those recovered from the earth and rubble infill of the W Facade. For many of the 'Lots' from the palace there is no

[1] Data from Pendlebury and others (1933-5).

documentation but, although on-site contamination cannot be ruled out, it should be invoked as an explanation for the occurrence of small numbers of late sherds only after close consideration of the circumstances of their excavation. Thus, Momigliano (1992, p. 174), when proposing a revision of Evans' dating of the earlier W Facade of the Palace, was critical of the readiness of Evans and Mackenzie to invoke intrusion as an explanation of the presence of pottery too young to be accommodated within their proposed chronology. The fact that the late sherds are commonly present in small number is not a consideration. As Barker (1982, 179) put it - 'A single sherd, positively stratified, which gives an inconveniently late *terminus post quem* for its layer or structure, must not be discarded by the excavator because he cannot bring himself to face the fact that his preconceived theories were wrong'.

The Linear B tablets

According to Mackenzie's Daybook, the first discovery of an inscription written in what came to be known as Linear B script was made on 31 March 1900, only two days after excavation started on the Palace proper. '*In the same neighbourhood where pithos 2 occurs* [in the South Propylaeum] *was found an object like a chisel or a knife-sharpener of terracotta with some sort of incised signs on the one side in two rows divided at one point by a dividing line. One part was fragmented (a short piece at one end)'* (15_**D.31.03.1900**). In all, some 3400 tablets were discovered (Olivier, 1994, 159) many being assembled from fragments recovered in part by the use of sieves.

The tablets were widely distributed in the palace (Fig. 7.3) but, despite their importance, as little care was taken in recording their spatial and stratigraphical location as with the pottery and their subsequent curation was little if any better (Chadwick and others, 1971, xiii; x). It was with some difficulty that Palmer (1963a) and Olivier (1967) were able to determine from notes left by Evans the room spaces in which about 1407 tablets were found.

The 'Unity of the Archive'

In Evans' view, the occupants of the palace site in the Reoccupation Period were illiterate and the Linear B tablets were baked by the fire that accompanied the destruction of the 'Last' Palace in, according to Popham (1970), the LM III A2 period. Palmer, on philological grounds, argued that the Linear B tablets discovered at Knossos belonged to a single archive and owed their survival to a conflagration at the end of the LM III B period which destroyed a palace that had been rebuilt over the ruins of Evans' 'Last' Palace. He considered that the archive at Knossos was contemporary with or even later than the archive recovered from the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. Hooker (1964) was less convinced. He noted that tablets occurred at more than one stratigraphical level, implying that the Palace had been burned on more than one occasion. He argued that tablets from various localities could not be allotted to a single archive on the basis simply of their content and suggested that they

could be most satisfactorily linked through their scribal hands. Shortly afterwards, this became possible when Olivier (1967) distinguished individual scribes on the basis mainly of peculiarities of their handwriting and it could be shown that tablets contained in assemblages from different rooms within the Palace were the work of a single author. The links thus established (*see* Fig. 7.4) appeared to validate the concept of the unity of the archive.

Although the Late Minoan stratigraphy of the Knossos site is far from secure, the excavation documents provide explicit evidence that the tablets are not confined to a single stratigraphical level. Thus, as noted by Palmer (1963a, and see below), by Hooker (1964), and Hallager (1977), there are several localities where tablets were found beneath or within structures that were overlain by or enclosed in deposit that contained tablets.

1. 'Under blocked doorway of Room W of Throne Room' (59_**AE.1901:19**). Originally numbered 1087 but renumbered by Evans as 746, this tablet is now U 746 (Palmer, 1963a, 30).
2. 'Under blocked door of room behind throne with other decayed tablets'. Originally numbered 1058 and 1059 but renumbered by Evans as 747 and 748, the tablets are now Dw 747 and X 748 (Palmer, 1963a, 31; 48).
3. Room of the Saffron Gatherer. Tablets found in 1901 beneath the upper of two cement floors. Tablets had previously been recovered from deposit above the upper floor.
4. Queen's Megaron - built into late wall constructed over balustrade (39-40_**D.1902/I:30-1**). Originally numbered 1545-1552 these tablets are now Ga 1530-6 (Palmer, 1963a, 35 and 150).

The possibility that all the tablets were baked by a conflagration that ended the occupation of the site, as Palmer's hypothesis demanded, can thus be categorically ruled out. However, the concept of a single archive can still be maintained on the assumption that all the tablets date from the destruction of the 'Last' Palace but some were incorporated in fill or makeup deposits during later building phases.

A serious challenge to the 'Unity' concept has recently been mounted by Driessen (1988;1990a, b), who concluded that the 'chariot' tablets formed an isolated unit occupying a stratigraphical context that was earlier than the rest of the archive which, he presumed, had been baked in the fire of LM III A2. Olivier (1994) supported Driessen's conclusion, suggesting an LM II date for the 'chariot' tablets. However, Owens (1999), while agreeing that they were earlier than the rest of the archive, dated the 'chariot' tablets to the LM III A1 period on the evidence of clay sealings associated with them.

The evidence of the tablets

The problems regarding the dating of the Linear B tablets arise directly from the inadequacies of the original excavation - in particular, the failure to define accurately their stratigraphical contexts. As a result, their place in the Late Minoan stratigraphy, tentatively proposed for the palace in this account on the basis of the documentary and physical evidence, is uncertain. Nevertheless, the findings endorse

Driessen's view that the inscriptions found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets belonged to an earlier archive. However, it is considered that the tablets were baked when the palace was destroyed towards the end of the LM III A period as Owens (1999) suggested. The evidence that assemblages found in the W Magazines and the N Entrance Passage are of late date is more convincing. In the former area, the tablets were contained in deposit that rested upon a pavement from beneath which pottery of LM III A, and possibly LM III B, date was recovered. The tablets in the N Entrance Passage were in intimate contact with vessels of LM III B date in a stratum that almost certainly rested upon a deposit that contained LM III A pottery. For other important assemblages, such as that in the EW Corridor area, there is no ceramic evidence of any kind.

While further excavation might clarify some aspects of the relevant stratigraphy, there remained the possibility that an examination of the tablets themselves might reveal features that were consistent with the existence of the two or more archives implied by the stratigraphic sequence reconstructed in this study. According to this, the tablets in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, along with tablets in the Lobby of the Stone Seat, the EW Corridor area and the Corridor of the Sword Tablets, and probably also the 'adze' tablets found in W Magazine VIII, were contained in the makeup deposit for floors of the RP1 building phase of the so-called Reoccupation Period. Most of the remaining tablets were contained in deposit that lay between the floors that here are attributed to the RP1 and RP2 phases of the Reoccupation. Finally, the description of the excavation of the Room of the Clay Bath strongly suggested that the tablets by the hands of scribes 138 and 139 found there were contained in the destruction debris of the RP3 phase structures and were the remnants of a third still later archive.

Detailed analysis of the physical character, format and textual content of the complete corpus of inscriptions is beyond the scope of the present study. In any case, an investigation by Driessen (1988) showed that the evidence provided by the handwriting of individual scribes must be treated with caution. Thus in the case of the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, although the work of some members of the scribal group, such as the one Driessen personified as *Fred*, was reasonably consistent, the handwriting of others showed considerable internal variability. Accordingly, here, attention has been focussed instead on aspects of the structure and function of the Linear B archive as revealed by the manner in which the tablets by the scribes identified by Olivier (1967) and the activities or commodities that they describe are distributed. It seems reasonable to assume that administrative practices in the palace did not change greatly with time and if there were indeed two principal archives, separated in date by a few generations, their structures would be similar.

The inscriptions are grouped into classes and sets according to a system originally devised by Bennett (*see* Chadwick and others, 1971, vii). This system, established prior to the decipherment of the tablets by Ventris (*see* Ventris and Chadwick, 1956), is based primarily on ideograms (*see* Palmer, 1965).

Table 7.6a. Distribution of Linear B tablets of known location and with a scribal hand.[1]

Find place of tablets	Numbers of tablets	Percentages of tablets	Cumulative Totals	Cumulative percentages
EW Corridor (EWC)[2]	373 (380)	30.35	373	31.08
R. of Chariot Tablets (RChT)	272 (275)	22.38	645	52.48
N Entrance area (NEP)	151 (218)	12.29	796	64.77
The Armoury (ARM)	71 (81)	5.78	867	70.55
W Magazine XV (WM15)	59 (62)	4.80	926	75.35
Lobby of Stone Seat (LoSS)	54 (57)	4.49	980	79.74
W Magazine XI (WM11)	32 (32)	2.60	1012	82.34
W Magazine VIII (WM8)	28 (31)	2.28	1040	84.62
Room of the Clay Bath (RCB)	27 (31)	2.20	1067	86.82
Corridor of Sword Tablets (CSwT)	25 (27)	2.03	1092	88.85
Long Corridor - N end (LCN)	22 (24)	1.79	1114	90.64
Room of Spiral Cornice (RSpC)	15 (23)	1.22	1129	91.86
Corridor of House Tablets (CoHT)	15 (16)	1.22	1144	93.08
W Magazine VII (WM7)	13 (14)	1.06	1157	94.14
W Magazine IV (WM4)	10 (19)	0.81	1167	94.96
Magazine of Jewel Fresco (MJFr)	10 (19)	0.81	1177	95.77
Room of the Saffron Gatherer (RoSG)	8 (23)	0.65	1185	96.42
Long Corridor (LC)	6 (9)	0.49	1191	96.91
W Magazine II (WM2)	5 (7)	0.41	1196	97.31
W Magazine XIV (WM14)	5 (5)	0.41	1201	97.72
W Magazine IX (WM9)	4 (8)	0.33	1205	98.05
W Magazine III (WM3)	4 (6)	0.33	1209	98.37
Magazine of Jewel Fresco - E part (MJFE)	3 (9)	0.24	1212	98.62
Bath - Queen's Megaron (QMBR)	3 (5)	0.24	1215	98.86
W Magazine XII (WM12)	3 (3)	0.24	1218	99.10
N Front (NFr)	3 (3)	0.24	1221	99.35
Room of Clay Signet (RCSg)	3 (3)	0.24	1224	99.59
The Bath = Throne Room (ThR)	1 (4)	0.08	1225	99.67
SW Door (SWDo)	1 (3)	0.08	1226	99.76
W Magazine V (WM5)	1 (3)	0.08	1227	99.84
Hall of Colonnades (HoC)	1 (2)	0.08	1228	99.92
W Magazine X (WM10)	1 (1)	0.08	1229	100.00
SW Corner (SWCo)	0 (6)			
Corridor of the Stone Basin (CoSB)	0 (5)			
Anteroom of the Throne Room (AThR)	0 (3)			
Royal Road Excavation (RRE)	0 (3)			
Service Quarter - N part (SQuN)	0 (3)			
W Magazine VI (WM6)	0 (2)			
W Magazine XIII (WM13)	0 (2)			
SE Front (SEFr)	0 (2)			
West Court (WC)	0 (2)			
W Magazines - general (WMS)	0 (1)			
Court of the Altar (CoA)	0 (1)			
E Pillar Room (EPR)	0 (1)			

[1] The data are from Chadwick and others (1986-1997). Figures in parentheses give total number of tablets at the locality, including those not attributed to a known scribe.

[2] Called by Evans the 'Area E of the Bay of Seal Impressions'.

The classes include tablets of similar content, tablets of the C class, for example, being concerned with cattle while those of the D class deal with sheep and wool. The manner in which scribe and class are linked varies. In some cases, almost all the tablets that concern a commodity or activity are the work of a single specialised scribe. In other cases, the tablets of a given class are the work of several scribes who may have been responsible for tablets referable to other categories. It seemed that the way in which the bureaucratic process was organised might have stratigraphic significance. For ease of handling, the class and scribe of the tablets, as given in Chadwick and others (1986-97), together with its registration number and those of its joining fragments, its ideograms and its find place, where known, were stored in a computerised database (*see* Appendix 5.3).

Table 7.6b. Numbers of Linear B tablets by selected scribes (columns) at various locations (rows).[1]

	101	102	103	106	115	117	118	119	124	126	128	129	132	135	136	138	139	141	207	221	224
ARM											20	9	11								
CoHT					2										13						
CSwT	2	1								16										1	
EWC				1		353		16					1		1						
HoC	1																				
LC					1			1						2	1						
LCN			12	1																	
LoSS																		52			
MJFE			1			1									1						
MJFr			7																		
NEP	1	10		10			23							1	1				1		
QMBR																				3	
RCB																11	16				
RChT									271							1					
RCSg		1				1												3			
RoSG		3													1						1
RSpC		5	1	1			3														
SWDo	1																				
WM3															1						
WM4							1									1		1	1		
WM7					7														1		
WM8			1		1			7													
WM9			1											1							
WM11			32																		
WM12			3																		
WM14			4		1																
WM15			41		2	1															

Of the 1475 tablets for which find places have been proposed by Palmer (1963a) and Olivier (1967), 41 are considered doubtful by one or other of them and have been excluded from the analysis that

[1] Abbreviations as in Table 7.6a.

follows. A further 205 were eliminated because they had not been allotted to a known scribe in Chadwick and others (1986-1997). The remaining 1229 tablets (*see* Appendix 7) have been identified as the work of 62 of the scribes recognized by Olivier. The tablets by these scribes were distributed among 44 rooms in the Palace (Table 7.6a above). There are wide variations in the size of the assemblages of inscriptions, two thirds of the tablets being from only three locations - the area of the EW Corridor (EWC), the Room of the Chariot Tablets (RChT) and the N Entrance Passage (NEP). The proportion is only slightly modified when the tablets that are not attributed to a scribe are included. The distribution in the palace of the output of selected scribes is given on Table 7.6b. Of the tablets of known location for which a scribal hand has been distinguished, more than 60 per cent are by the scribal hands 103, 117 and 124. The tablets attributed to a single scribal hand may, however, be the work of several individuals as in the case of the assemblage from the Room of the Chariot Tablets (*see* Driessen, 1988). For several scribes, only a single inscription is known.

The tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets

The assemblage of inscriptions found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets forms a convenient starting point for the investigation. Of the 280 inscriptions known to be from this locality, all, with one exception, have been attributed to the members of a group of individuals whose work was allotted to a single scribal hand 124. None of the total output of 641 tablets and fragments (723 if joining fragments are included) by this hand are known with certainty to be from any other locality and it is reasonable to assume that all in fact were from the Room of the Chariot Tablets. The investigation of these 'early' tablets by Driessen (1988) was aimed primarily at identifying and characterising the individuals making up the scribal group and he did not compare their work with that of the scribes of the postulated later archive. Nevertheless, there appear to be systematic differences in the way the 'chariot' scribes formed some signs, especially the ideograms, as compared with those whose work is taken to be later. An example is the ideogram CROC (Fig. 7.5), the fluid realism of the ideogram on tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets drawn by scribe 124 (*Eric* of Driessen, 1988) contrasting with the stiffer, more stylised version produced by scribe 134 on tablets recovered from the N Entrance Passage that must be later, if Driessen is correct. If the tablets by scribe 134 indeed belong to a later archive, the two forms may reflect a general trend towards the simplification of complex signs.

The 'chariot' tablets

While forming an important component of the assemblage from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, or by its scribe 124, only 98 of the tablets in fact carry the ideogram BIG for chariot, usually in combination with one or other or both of the ideograms EQU for horse and TUN for body armour (Table 7.7). Only one example of the ideogram BIG, on Sd 4404 by scribe 128 from the Armoury, is known from outside the Room. The ideogram TUN (Fig. 7.6) is more widely dispersed, however, and occurs on tablets by a number of scribes other than 124. It has two main forms, distinguished on Fig. 7.6 and

Table 7.7. Distribution of tablets listing military equipment. [1].

	Scribes									
	124	**103**	**114**	**116**	**nil**	**127**	**128**	**129**	**130**	**131**
TUN:1	**28**									
TUN:2	**4**	**3**	**1**	**1**						
TUN:1 + EQU	**2**									
TUN:2 + EQU	**2**									
EQU	**30**				**1**					
TUN:1 + BIG + EQU	**12**									
TUN:1 + BIG	**26**									
BIG + EQU	**25**									
BIG	**33**									
BIG + CUR							**1**			
CUR						**4**	**14**			
CAPS							**4**	**6**		
ROTA					**2**		**1**	**1**	**9**	**9**
Ideograms	**RChT**	**NEP; WM15: RSpC**				**ARM**				

BIG chariot with wheels EQU horse CAPS chariot frame
CUR wheel-less chariot ROTA wheel TUN:1 corslets with plates in place
TUN:2 corslets without plates

ARM The Armoury NEP N Entrance Passage
RChT Room of the Chariot Tablets RSpC Room of the Spiral Cornice
WM15 W Magazine XV

Table 7.7 as TUN:1 and TUN:2. The first of these, that occurs on 68 tablets by scribe 124 listing a total of at least 83 items, seems to portray a corslet made up of horizontal rows of plates attached to a tunic of leather or heavy linen (*see* Palmer, 1965, 197-200; Chadwick 1976, 160). In three cases the partially erased TUN:1 ideogram is overlaid by the ideogram INGOT[2], perhaps indicating that an existing corslet had been found to be unusable and an appropriate quantity of metal, presumably bronze, had been set aside for the manufacture of a new set of plates. Most of the corslets as depicted on the ideograms are straight-sided but a few widen downwards. Whether this is significant is unclear. The TUN:2 form of the ideogram, which occurs on only 14 tablets, shows no segmentation and may refer to the tunic to which the bronze plates were attached. On 5 tablets by scribe 124, one with no stated location, that list a total of at least 9 items, the TUN:2 ideogram is surcharged with the sign *RI* or *QE*. The ideogram, in a somewhat different form, is present on a further 8 tablets that list at least 14 items. One tablet, by the hand of scribe 114, is from the N Entrance Passage, 3 tablets by scribe 103

[1] In the preparation of this table it has been that all tablets by scribe 124 were from the Room of the Chariot Tablets.

[2] See Chadwick (1973, 380) and Evans (1935, 805).

and one by scribe 116 were found in W Magazine XV. The find places of the last 3, by scribe 103, are unknown. On all 8 tablets, the sign *KI* is written over the ideogram.

Table 7.8. Occurrences of the ideograms TUN, BIG and EQU on tablets by scribe 124

Class/Tabno	Locality	Scribe	Ideograms			Shape
Sc 221	RChT	124i	TUN:1 (1)	BIG (1)	EQU *MO* (1)	W
Sc 5169		124i	TUN:1 (?)	BIG (1)	EQU *MO* (1)	W
Sc 103	RChT	124i	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (1)	EQU ( )	W
Sc 217	RChT	124	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE* (pr)	W
Sc 231	RChT	124g	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE* (pr)	W
Sc 5060		124f	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE* (pr)	W
Sc 5085		124	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE* (pr)	W
Sc 5164		124i	TUN:1 (1)	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE* (pr)	W
Sc 5156		124	TUN:1 (2)	?	?	R
Sc 7444		124	TUN:1 (2)	?	?	R
Sc 7456		124	TUN:1 (2)	?	?	L
Sc 7481		124l	TUN:1 (2)	?	?	L
Sc 234	RChT	124	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (?)	?	L
Sc 252	RChT	124j	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (?)	?	L
Sc 254	RChT	124i	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (?)	?	L
Sc 255	RChT	124j	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (?)	?	L
Sc 256	RChT	124j	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (?)	?	L
Sc 1644		124	TUN:1 (2)	BIG (?)	?	L
Sc 222	RChT	124	TUN:1 (2)	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 259	RChT	124	TUN:1 (2)	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 225	RChT	124f	?	BIG (1)	EQU *MO*	R
Sc 5062		124	?	BIG (1)	EQU *MO*	R
Sc 232	RChT	124g	?	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 264	RChT	124	?	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 5144		124f	?	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 5158		124g	?	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 5160		124g	?	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE*	W
Sc 8480		124	?	BIG (1)	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 220	RChT	124	?	?	EQU *MO*	R
Sc 241	RChT	124	?	?	EQU *MO*	R
Sc 218	RChT	124f	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 242	RChT	124	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 5071		124	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 5072		124k	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 5087		124	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 5154		124f	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 5159		124g	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 5168		124	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 7453		124	?	?	EQU *ZE*	W
Sc 7463		124	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 7478		124	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 7479		124m	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 7483		124	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 7798		124	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 9121		124	?	?	EQU *ZE*	R
Sc 9803			?	?	EQU *ZE*	R

L Left end of tablet only M Middle of tablet only R Right end of tablet only
W Whole tablet EQU *MO* single horse EQU *ZE* pair of horses
Figures in parentheses are numerals on tablets

As Mackenzie noted, the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets are much fragmented. The complete tablets that describe military equipment commonly conform to a pattern in which the ideogram TUN follows a name, probably that of the warrior, and is followed in turn by the ideograms BIG and EQU (*see* Chadwick, 1976, 167). The three ideograms occur together on 12 tablets (*see* Table 7.8) although on Sc 226 (Fig. 7.7) they are out of order. In all cases the ideogram for corslet is the TUN:1 form. Ruling out Sc 223, Sc 5156 and Sc 7444, because the ideogram TUN or BIG occurs at their right hand end, there are 149 tablet fragments that contain either one or two of the ideograms TUN, BIG or EQU. These fragments can in theory be assembled to form a further 56 tablets of the standard pattern leaving a residue of 29 fragments that have only the ideogram BIG. Thus there may have been at least 98 tablets of the standard pattern. Of the tablets that were found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets or were by the hand of scribe 124, 50 specifically refer to a single chariot. This was probably also true of the other tablets, on which the ideogram BIG is only partly preserved. Taken as a whole, the 'chariot' tablets do not give the give the impression that they written as part of a routine stocktaking of equipment held in store at the palace. Rather they reflect the stages in assembling the equipment necessary to prepare a force of a hundred or so named warriors to carry out, or resist, an attack.

Outside the Room of the Chariot Tablets, the ideogram BIG occurs only once (Table 7.7), inscribed on the upper edge of tablet Sd 4404 by the hand of scribe 128 that was found in the building variously called the Armoury or the Arsenal. On the face of the tablet is the ideogram CUR that appears to describe a chariot from which the wheels have been removed for purposes of storage (Chadwick, 1973, 361). This ideogram occurs in all on 14 tablets, from the same location and by the same hand, that list a total of 21 chariots. Also found in the Armoury, were 4 tablets (Sf 4421, Sf 4423, Sf 4427-8) by scribe 128 that list at least 96 chariot frames, denoted by the ideogram CAPS. A further 6 tablets in the same assemblage, by scribe 129 list at least another 194 chariot frames. Tablets that carry the ideogram CAPS are not confined to the Armoury. Five tablets from the N Entrance Passage and one from the nearby Room of the Spiral Cornice, by unnamed scribes, add at least another 6 to the total while three non-located tablets contribute a further 248 frames. The inscriptions that list large numbers of chariot frames are matched by a series of tablets with the ideogram ROTA that catalogue chariot wheels. Of these, scribes 128 and 129 contributed one each, 9 are by scribe 130 and a similar number by scribe 131. They catalogue at least 390 wheels. Two tablets from the N Entrance Passage add 40 or more wheels to the total and 3 non-located tablets list at least another 208 items. It is considered significant that the ideograms ROTA and CAPS do not occur on any of the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets or by the scribal hand 124 .

From the tablets by scribe 124 that concern military equipment, there is reason to infer that the Palace was destroyed while its occupants were preparing for war. By contrast, the inscriptions from the N Entrance Passage area and the Armoury, that list chariots without wheels, chariot frames, wheels and tunics that lack their bronze plates and are surcharged with the sign *KI* rather than *QE* or *RI*, appear appropriate for a time when Knossos was at peace. This impression is reinforced by tablet Ca 895, the only inscription carrying the EQU ideogram that was not found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets or written by scribe 124. This tablet, from the N Entrance Passage, lists foals, mares and stallions, and clearly relates to the breeding of horses. It is concluded that the fire that baked the tablets in the Armoury and N Entrance Passage that refer to dismantled chariots came as a surprise to the palace inhabitants. It has been suggested above that the tablets from the latter locality were contained in makeup and fill deposits connected with an extensive programme of repairs during the RP2 phase to the reconstructed 'palace' of the so-called Reoccupation Period. Arguably, the widespread damage that occasioned these repair works was the result of an unexpected attack or, perhaps more plausibly, the fire that baked the tablets was accidental, possibly associated with an earthquake.

Non-military tablets

Of the 641 inscriptions from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, or by scribal hand 124, only 179 refer to military equipment and, in all, twelve different classes of tablet are represented (Table 7.9 below) that are connected with a wide range of commodities and activities. However, of the tablets of known provenance, there are none belonging to the important category that refer to sheep or wool and, apart from Fp (1) 48 by the hand of scribe 138 and the fragment F (1) 9110, which may have been wrongly curated, there are none that carry the ideogram OLE that denotes olive oil. If the assemblage from the Room of the Chariot Tablets were indeed of earlier date than the rest, as Driessen claimed, it seems unlikely that, in the absence of inscriptions relating to these important commodities, it can represent the entire archive of that period. There is therefore the possibility that there are other assemblages in the palace that combine with the tablets by scribe 124 to complete the early archive.

The general characteristics of such assemblages can be predicted. They are likely to consist mainly of tablets of the D, G, M, P, and R classes, that are not represented in the assemblage from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, and perhaps also tablets that specifically refer to oil. They will not have strong links through their scribal hands with other assemblages. Ideally, they should occur in contexts that can be shown to be of early date but the uncertain stratigraphy at Knossos means this cannot be guaranteed. Possible candidates are the assemblages highlighted in Table 7.9 that contain relatively large numbers of tablets which are mainly the output of one or two scribes whose work occurs only rarely at other locations. Application of the criteria listed would rule out, on the other hand, the abundant assemblages in W Magazine XI and XV on the grounds that tablets by their main scribe 103 were found in at least 10 locations. Similarly, the assemblage from the Corridor of the House Tablets

is linked through its principal scribe link with those in 5 other rooms. The composition of selected assemblages and their links through their scribes with those from other locations in the palace are shown graphically on Fig. 7.8.

Table 7.9. Numbers of Linear B tablets according to class (columns) at selected locations in the Palace (rows)[1]

	CLASSES OF TABLETS																
	A	**B**	**C**	**D**	**E**	**F**	**G**	**K**	**L**	**M**	**N**	**O**	**P**	**R**	**S**	**U**	**V**
ARM										11	10				47	1	
CoHT							13										2
CSwT	4											1		16			4
HoC	1																
LC				2			3										1
LCN				1			7		4	1		6					1
LoSS						54											
MJFE				2			1										
MJFr							4			2		4					
NEP	8	13	30	36	3	1	7	4	4		7			2	12	16	7
QM							3										
RCB						26	1										
RChT	10	3	12		4	5		1	3		13	1			50	12	68
RCSg		1		2													
RoSG	3				1			1	2								1
RSpC		1	1	4					3						1		
SWDo	1																
EWC				371			1			1							
WM2				5													
WM3				2					1								
WM4				1		1	4		3								
WM7									6			3					4
WM8	8						3		9				7				1
WM9							3					1					
WM11									27	1		2					
WM12									1			1					
WM14	3								1								1
WM15	25				3				24			2					3

The 'oil' tablets

An obvious candidate for a place in the early archive along with the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets is the assemblage recovered in the Lobby of the Stone Seat. Of the 55 tablets known to be from this locality, 52 are by the hand of scribe 141, two were written by scribe 222 and the last has not been allotted to a scribe. Only 4 of the total output of 153 tablets and fragments by the former -

[1] Abbreviations as in Table 7.6a.

FH 462 from W Magazine IV and Fh 1056, Fh 1057, and Fh 1059 from the Room of the Clay Signet - are said to be from other locations. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that most, if not all, of the inscriptions by scribe 141 that lack a provenance are also from the Lobby. A total of 73 of the tablets by this scribe, including 36 known to be from the Lobby, carry an ideogram, which invariably is OLE. Of the four inscriptions by the hand of scribe 222, the provenance of only the two from the Lobby is known. All four carry the OLE ideogram.

In his analysis of the 'olive oil' tablets from Knossos Chadwick (1966, fig.1) distinguished 5 variants of the OLE ideogram that he believed were associated with individual hands. Neither of Chadwick's forms *a* and *b* is common - a form, here denoted *x*, in which the lower stroke is shorter than upper stroke and terminates at or near the upright part of the former being more usual. The ideogram occurs on only 99 tablets; its distribution according to scribe, location and form is given on Table 7.10.

Table 7.10. Distribution of tablets with variants of the OLE ideogram

Location	Form	Class/set	Scribe	Number
LoSS	a/b	Fh	141	1
	c/d	Fh	141	33
		Fp	222	2
			nil	1
	x	Fh	141	1
	indet.	Fh	141	1
MJFr	c/d	F	nil	1
RCSg	c/d	Fh	141	3
RCB	e	Fp	138	4
	x	Fp	138	1
		Fs	139	10
	e + x	Fp	138	1
RChT	e + x	F	138	1
WM4	x	F	nil	1
no location	c/d	Fp	222	2
		Fh	141	17
		F	nil	1
	x	F	124	1
		Fh	141	1
	indet.	Fh	141	16

The OLE ideograms on tablets by scribes 141 and 222 from the Lobby of the Stone Seat and the Room of the Clay Signet are mainly variants of the forms *c* or *d* of Chadwick (1966, fig. 1). The only exceptions are those on Fh 368 and Fh 386 (*see* Fig. 7.9). In contrast, the ideograms on the tablets from the Room of the Clay Bath by scribes 138 and 139 are exclusively of the *e* or *x* forms. The two examples of the ideogram on the tablet Fp (1) 48 from the Room of the Chariot Tablets are also of

the *e* and *x* forms (*see* Fig. 7.9), suggesting that the tablet properly belongs with the Room of the Clay Bath assemblage. The ideogram on the non-located fragment F 9110 is of the form *x*, like those on tablets from the Room of the Clay Bath, and its author may have been scribe 139 rather than scribe 124.

The assemblage from the Lobby was contained in deposit that rested upon the 'mosaiko' floor which was laid when the W Facade of the Central Court was reconstructed (*see* Chapter 5). It is likely that this deposit consisted of or included destruction debris from the LM II/LM III A palace. The stratigraphical level of the tablets in the Room of the Chariot Tablets is less securely known but may well be similar to that of the 'oil' tablets from the Lobby. It is suggested therefore that the 'oil' tablets belong to the same early archive as the assemblage from the Room of the Chariot Tablets. It should be noted, however, that the OLE ideogram does not occur on tablets of the later archive as represented by the large assemblage from the N Entrance Passage.

As the 'oil' tablets by scribe 141 could have been reworked into deposits of later date, their occurrence in assemblages from other localities is not a problem for the above proposal. This is not true of 'oil' tablet Fp (1) 48 said to be from the Room of the Chariot Tablets. Its affinities clearly are with the tablets in the Room of the Clay Bath that Driessen (1990a) considered were of later date. Proof that the tablet belonged to the assemblage of 'chariot' tablets would destroy Driessen's hypothesis. However, Driessen (1990a, 268) was almost certainly correct in supposing that the location of the tablet to the Room of the Chariot Tablets was the result of an error in the curation of the finds. Either the tablet was incorrectly attributed to the Room of the Chariot Tablets or it was found at a higher stratigraphical level than the other tablets.

The 'sheep and wool' tablets

Almost 25 per cent of the tablets from Knossos belong to the D class that deals with sheep and wool. It seems unlikely that tablets of this important class should not be present in the early archive but, although the assemblage from the Room of the Chariot Tablets contains representatives of 12 classes, none belong to class D. It is here suggested that the large assemblage of tablets found in the area of the EW Corridor in the Domestic Quarter makes good the deficiency. Like the 'oil' tablets, they were the work of a small number of scribes, 351 inscriptions out of the 380 known to be from the area being by scribe 117. Of the rest, 17 are by scribal hand 119, one each by scribes 132 and 136 and 2 by scribe 216. The remaining 8 have not been assigned to a particular scribe. Only 2 out of a total output of 726 inscriptions by scribe 117 were found at locations other than the area of the EW Corridor (*see* Table 7.11) and it is probable that most if not all his inscriptions that lack a provenance are also from this location. One of the two stray tablets, Dp 1061, was located in the Room of the Clay Signet where 3

tablets by the 'oil' scribe 141 were found. His entire output belongs to the D class other than 9 sealings (class W) and 4 indeterminate fragments (class X).

Apart from the tablets by scribes 132 and 136 and the class X fragments, the inscriptions known to be from the EW Corridor area all belong to the D class. The distribution within the palace of the tablets by the scribes whose work occurs in the assemblage from the EW Corridor area is summarised on Table 7.11. If the assemblage is indeed of early date then the presence of occasional tablets by scribe

Table 7.11. Distribution of the tablets by scribes in the assemblage from the EW Corridor area

EWC (No.) [Class/set]	Other localities (No.) [Class/set]
Scribe 117 (355) [Da; Db; Dc; Dc 2;Dd; De; Df; Dg; Dh 1; Dm; Dn; Dv]	MJFE (1) [Dk] RCSg (1) [Dp] Non-located inscriptions (369) [Da; Db; Dc; Dd; De; Df; Dg; Dk; Dm; Dn; Dp; Dv, Wb; X]
Scribe 119 (17) [Dk 2]	LCN (1) [Dk 2] WM8 (7) [Pp] Non-located inscriptions (11) [Dk 2]
Scribe 132 (1) [Mc]	ARM (11) [Mc] Non-located inscriptions (11) [Mc]
Scribe 136 (1) [Ga 2]	CoHT (13) [Ga 2] LC (1) [Ga 2] NEP (1) [E] RoSG (1) [E] WM3 (2) [Ga 2] Non-located inscriptions (9) [Ga 2 (8); Ga (1)]
Scribe 216 (2) [Dq 2]	Non-located inscriptions (5) [Dq 2]

ARM	The Armoury	CoHT	Corridor of the House Tablets
LC	Long Corridor	LCN	Long Corridor - N part
MJFE	Magazine of the Jewel Fresco - E part	NEP	N Entrance Passage
RCSg	Room of the Clay Signet	RoSG	Room of the Saffron Gatherer
EWC	EW Corridor area		

117 in later assemblages at other localities presents no difficulties. The occurrence of tablets Mc 1508 by scribe 132 and Ga 1335 are a problem, as the bulk of the work by these scribes occurs in assemblages that are taken to belong to the main archive. However, they are the sole representatives of their class in the EW Corridor assemblage and, arguably, like tablet Fp (1) 48 in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, these inscriptions have been wrongly located or are from a later stratigraphical context in the EW Corridor area. The D class tablets by scribe 216, whose work is not known to occur outside the EW Corridor, may belong to the early archive.

The most interesting inscriptions are those attributed to scribe 119. Of the 8 of his tablets located outwith the EW Corridor, 7 were found in W Magazine VIII, lying side by side in their original arrangement (Evans 1900, 25). They belong to the Pp set that concerns adzes and are unique to this locality. However, the greater number of the tablets found in the magazine are securely linked through their scribal hands with assemblages dispersed throughout the W Magazines area (Table 7.12) and through them with inscriptions from locations in the N Front area. The link is strengthened by a join of fragment D 511 from W Magazine VIII and D 411 from the N Entrance Passage (Olivier, 1967, 25). Thus the assemblage in W Magazine VIII appears to combine two distinct elements and it has already been suggested (Chapter 5) that in this magazine, which was deeply invaded by Kalokairinos prior to

Table 7.12. Distribution of the inscriptions by scribes in the assemblage from W Magazine VIII

WM8 [Class/set] (No.)	Other localities [Class/set] (No.)
Scribe 103 [L] (1)	LCN [L] (3); [M] (1); [Od 1] (6) [Xe] (2) MJFr [Gg 1] (2); [M 1] (1); [Od 2] (4) NEP [L] (3); [Od 1] (1) RSpC [Ak 3] (1) WM9 [Od 1] (1) WM10 [Xe] (1) WM11 [Lc 1] (27); [M 1] (1); [Od 1] (2); [Xe] (2) WM12 [Lc 1] (1); [Od 1] (2) WM14 [Am 1] (2); [As 1] (1); [L] (1) WM15 [Ak 1] (11); [Am 1] (2); [Ap] (5); [As 1] (8); [E 2] (3); [L] (2); [L 1] (1); [L 2] (2); [Lc] (1); [Le] (3); [Ln] (1); [Od 1] (1); [V 4] (2); [Xe] (2) Non-located inscriptions [Ak] (2); [Ak 1] (21); [Am] (1); [Am 1] (2); [Ap] (3); [As 1] (16); [Gg 1] (3); [L] (14); [Lc 1] (13); [Le] (5); [M 1] (1); [Od] (1); [Od 1] (5); [U] (1); [V] (1); [V 4] (3); [Wm] (1); [Ws] (1); [Xe] (32)
Scribe 108 [Ak 2] (8)	WM15 [Ak 2] (1) Non-located inscriptions [Ak] (2); [Ak 2] (11); [X] (1)
Scribe 113 [Lc 2] (3)	
Scribe 119 [Pp] (7)	EWC [Dk 2] (17) LCN [Dk 2] (1) Non-located inscriptions [Dk] (1); [Dk 2] (8); [F 7] (2)
Scribe 208 [L 4] (2)	WM5 [L 4] (1) WM7 [L 4] (3) Non-located inscriptions [L 4] (4)
Scribe 209 [L] (1); [L 5] (1)	Non-located inscriptions [L] (1); [L 5] (5)
Scribe 220 [Gg 4] (3)	Non-located inscriptions [Gg 4] (1)

Evans' excavation, the tablets were divided between two stratigraphical contexts. The tablets of the Pp set by scribe 119, and possibly also those by scribes 209 and 220, are taken to be earlier than the rest and were contained in the destruction debris of the LM II/LM III A palace that formed the makeup for the RP1 floor. The tablets by scribe 119 found in the EW Corridor area belong to a different set, Dk (2), that contains shearing records (Halstead, 2000, 145). As the tablets of this scribe deal with two different activities, it is not unexpected that his work should be divided between two localities.

Table 7.13. Distribution and class of the output of the scribes of the class D tablets

Scribe	Location	Numbers and class of tablets			Numbers of D class tablets
106	LCN	1 (D)			1
	MJFE	1 (D)			1
	NEP	6 (D)	5 (B)		6
	RSpC	1 (D)			1
	unknown	16 (D)	6 (B)		16
117	EWC	355 (D)			355
	MJFE	1 (D)			1
	RCSg	1 (D)			1
	unknown	356 (D)	9 (Wb)	4 (X)	369
118	NEP	23 (D)			23
	RSpC	3 (D)			3
	WM4	1 (D)			1
	unknown	30 (D)	1 (U)	1 (X)	30
119	EWC	17 (D)			17
	LCN	1 (D)			1
	WM8	7 (P)			
	unknown	9 (D)	2 (F)		9
120	LC	1 (D)			1
	NEP	9 (D)			9
	unknown	36 (D)	1 (X)		36
121	LC	1 (D)			1
	WM2	3 (D)			3
	WM3	3 (D)			3
	unknown	2 (D)			2
215	RCSg	1 (D)			1
	unknown	4 (D)			4
216	EWC	2 (D)			2
	unknown	5 (D)			5
217	NEP	1 (D)			1
	WC	3 (D)			3
	WM2	2 (D)			2
	unknown	4 (D)			4

Total number of class D tablets of known find place = 443

EWC	EW Corridor	LC	Long Corridor
LCN	Long Corridor- N part	MJFE	Magazine of the Jewel Fresco - E part
NEP	N Entrance Passage	RCSg	Room of the Clay Signet
RSpC	Room of the Spiral Cornice	WC	West Court
	WM2, 3, 4 , 8	W Magazines II, III, IV, VIII	

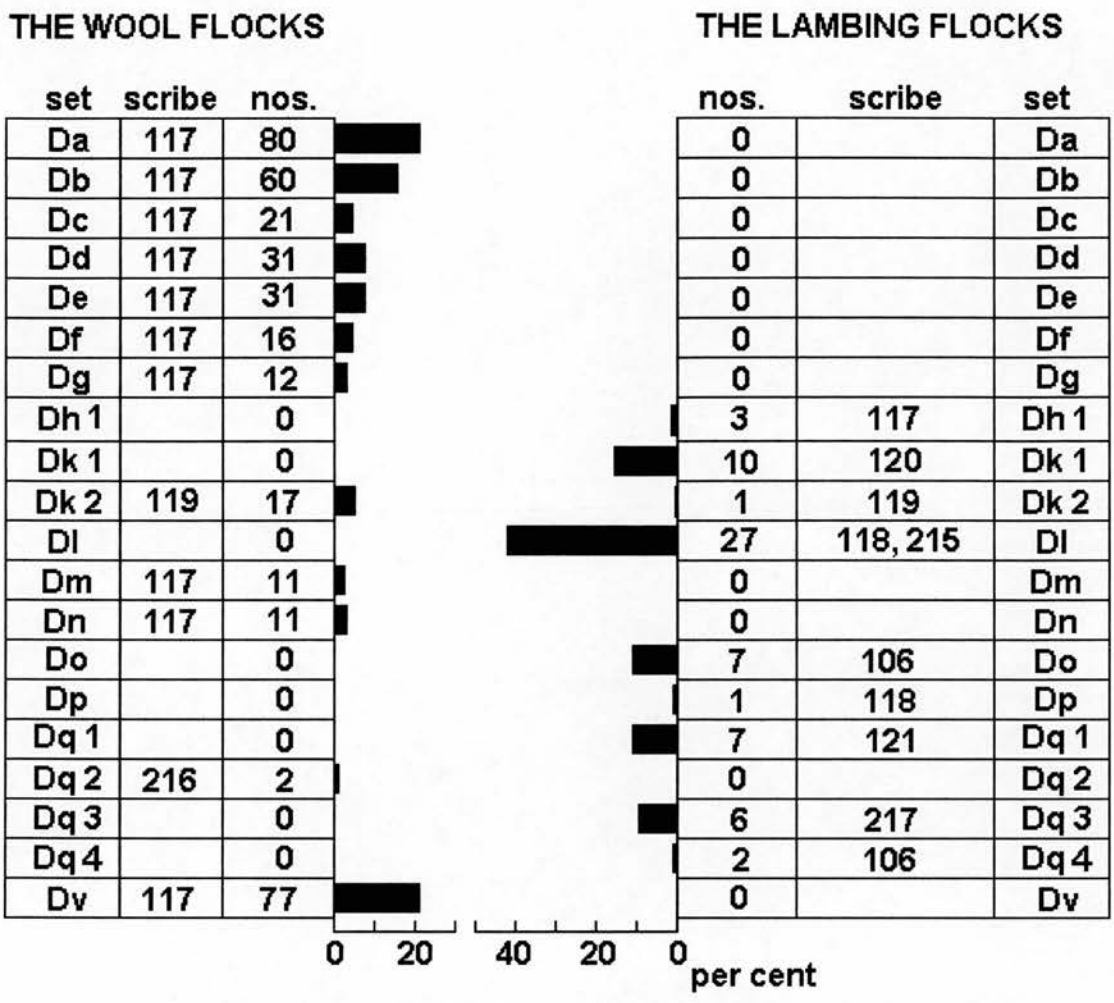
The inscriptions of the D class were not confined to the EW Corridor but occurred at numerous locations in the West Wing and the N Front, including the N Entrance Passage. By far the most abundant category of inscriptions at Knossos, in total they amount to 981 tablets of which 446 have find places. The tablets were the work of 9 scribes (Table 7.13), the most prolific being scribe 117 who, along with scribes 119 and 216, was responsible for the inscriptions recovered in the EW Corridor. The distribution of the tablets from this locality that were not written by scribe 117 and the stratigraphical position of the assemblage have already been discussed. The assemblage of D class tablets of known find place is completed by the output of scribes 106, 118, 120, 121, 215 and 217. Much of their work was found in the N Entrance Passage. The rest of their output was recovered at locations such as the W Magazines, the Long Corridor and the Magazine of the Jewel Fresco, in assemblages that have strong links with that from the N Entrance Passage.

Analysed in some detail by Killen (1964), the sheep and wool records were recently re-examined by Halstead (2000) who pointed out that they divide into two main groups that are concerned with 'wool' and 'breeding' flocks. The tablets of the D class have been subdivided into sets and subsets. According to Halstead, the Da - Dg sets with the fragmentary Dv tablets, the tablets of the Dh (2) subset, the Dn totalling texts, and the 'shearing' records of the Dk (2) subset are associated with the wool flocks. Connected with the breeding flocks are the tablets of the Dh (1) set that record the composition of a number of lamb flocks, together with the Dl (1) lambing and shearing records, the Do set lambing records and the shearing texts of the Dk (2) subset.

Halstead in his account did not examine the spatial distribution of the D class tablets nor is there any hint that he considered that they might belong to two archives of different dates. This possibility was explored by examining the distribution of the D class tablets of the two areas according to their classes and sets. As given on Table 7.14 below, the results of the survey show that, the tablets of a given set by a particular scribe are rarely shared between the assemblages of the EW Corridor and those from the N Entrance and W Magazines areas. The only exceptions are tablets Dk (2) 1567 by 119, found in the Long Corridor, and Dk 727 and Dp 106 from the Magazine of the Jewel Fresco that was doubtfully attributed to scribe 117. These tablets could have been mislocated as the result of a curation error during excavation or were transferred to a later stratigraphical context in antiquity. The situation regarding the unique set of tablets Pp 494 to Pp 498 by scribe 119, found in W Magazine VIII, has already been considered.

The distribution pattern of the D class tablets strongly implies that the administration of the wool and lambing flocks of Halstead was the responsibility of two distinct sets of scribes whose tablets ended up in different areas in the palace. Thus, almost all the tablets that refer to aspects of the wool flocks are by scribes 117, 119 and 216, whose work was found mainly in the EW Corridor area. The only

Table 7.14. Distribution according to their sets of the 'sheep' tablets of known find place



exceptions are the tablets of the Dq (4) subset by scribe 106 that were found in the West Wing. These were written by the same hand and describe the composition of wool flocks in the same locality as the 'lambing' tablets of the Do set. It is considered that the D class tablets of the EW Corridor were contained in contexts, like those of the 'chariot' tablets, that belong to the RP1 phase of the Reoccupation Period. Two tablets, Ga 1335 and Mc 1508, in the EW Corridor assemblage are not of the D class but they are probably from a later context or have been wrongly curated.

The situation with regard to the breeding flocks is almost the exact opposite. Their details are recorded on tablets, almost all by scribes 106, 118, 120, 121, 215 and 217 that were found at locations in the West Wing and the N Entrance area. As noted above scribe 106 was also responsible for the Dq (4) set that refers to 'wool' flocks. On the other hand, the tablets of the small Dh (1) subset, that record the composition of lamb flocks, are the work of scribe 117, the sole author of the Da - Dg wool flock tablets of the EW Corridor. It has been argued that the tablets in the West Wing and N Entrance areas were contained in contexts of the RP2 phase or later. Thus it would appear that the separation of the

sheep tablets into two distinct sets by different authors is not merely spatial but may also be stratigraphical.

The activities associated with breeding and the harvesting of wool peak at different times in the husbandry calendar. It is possible that all the 'sheep and wool' tablets were of the same date and that responsibility for the wool and breeding flocks was devolved on to two separate groups of scribes but there is no particular reason why this should have been so. The episodic character of the rearing and management of sheep would have left the scribes with a great deal of time on their hands. However, the only inscriptions by the administrators of the Knossian flocks that concern other aspects of palace life are the 'adze' tablets Pp 494-8 by scribe 119. Furthermore, the fact that the wool flocks scribe 117 was responsible for a number of tablets dealing with lamb flocks and, conversely, that the breeding flocks scribe 106 recorded details of certain wool flocks argues against the division of responsibility for the flocks between two groups of administrators operating contemporaneously.

The presence of shearing records suggests that the tablets relating to the wool flocks were written during or shortly after the main wool harvest of April - May/June (Halstead, 2000, 156). According to Halstead, the Dl (1) and perhaps also the Do texts occur in two seasonal batches, with the later tablets being written several weeks or even months after the wool flocks tablets. How long the tablets were retained before their data were incorporated in a permanent record is not known, but the possibility that the tablets describing the breeding flocks were fired at a later time of year than those relating to the wool flocks cannot be ruled out. Taken as a whole, therefore, the evidence suggests that there are two sets of sheep and wool records, each prepared by its own group of scribes, that were preserved by the action of fires, at least a generation apart, that occurred at different times in the farming year.

The 'sword' tablets

The assemblage from the Corridor of the Sword Tablets consists of 19 tablets by scribal hand 126 and 5 by scribe105, none of whose work is known to occur at any other location., along with inscriptions by scribes 101 and 102 (Table 7.15), whose work occurs in the assemblage from the N Entrance Passage, and 221(Table 7.6b). As has been suggested in the case of the tablets in W Magazine VIII,

Table 7.15. Distribution of tablets by the scribes of the Corridor of Sword Tablets assemblage.

Scribes	CSwT	HOC	NEP	QMBR	RCSg	Rm44[1]	RoSG	RSpC	SWDo	Nil
101	2	1	1						1	
102	1		10		1	1	3	5		5
105	5									
126	21									
221	1			6						4

[1] Room numbered 44 on plan of Hood and Taylor (1981).

the assemblage from the Corridor of the Sword Tablets may combine elements from two separate archives that were contained in different deposits. This seems particularly likely as, according to Evans (1902, 95; 1935, 854 and see p. 83), at least two floors were recognised in the Corridor. The deposit between the floors contained good palace style pottery - of LM II-III A date - while, in the nearby Shrine of the Double Axe, pottery of LM III B date rested on the later, higher floor.

Of the 28 tablets of the Ra set that list swords, 19 and probably 21, by the hand of scribe 126, were found in the Corridor of the Sword Tablets. Ten of them have the ideogram for a sword. The two tablets of the set that can be located to the N Entrance Passage are by scribe 127. The ideograms by scribe 126 all depict the sword with its point upwards. Two of the tablets by scribe 127 have two ideograms each, depicting different kinds of sword. One of the weapons is shown with its point up, the other pointing down. The swords depicted on the ideograms on the tablets from the Corridor have a central mid-rib and are of a type manufactured in the LM II - III A period but 'on present evidence' not subsequently (*see* Driessen, 1990b, 131).

Tablets in the Bathroom of the Queen's Megaron

The tablets built into the base of a late rubble construction over the E balustrade of the Bathroom in the Queen's Megaron have already been considered in some detail (Chapter 4, p. 81). Most are of the Ga class and all are by the hand of scribe 221 one of whose tablets is doubtfully located to the Corridor of the Sword Tablets. The assemblage may well belong to the early archive.

Tablets in the Room of the Clay Signet

The small assemblage of inscriptions found in the Room of the Clay Signet is of interest. One tablet is by scribe 117, the principal author of the sheep tablets of the EW Corridor. A further link between the two localities is the occurrence in the EW Corridor of sealings that match the clay matrix for which the Room of the Clay Signet is named (25_**AE.1901:34-5**; Evans, 1928, 767). The assemblage from the Room also includes 3 tablets by scribe 141, who was responsible for most of the 'oil' tablets from the Lobby of the Stone Seat, and one by scribe 215 whose work is not known at any other locality. There is, however, one tablet by scribe 102, most of whose work is from localities in the N Front. Significantly, the Room of the Clay Signet is one of a complex of rooms where the original excavation proved the existence of two deposits separated by an earth floor (see above p. 51).

Summary

The assemblages most likely to combine with the 'chariot' tablets to form the early archive are the 'oil' tablets from the Lobby of the Stone Seat and the 'sheep' tablets from the EW Corridor area (Fig. 7.10A). To those must be added the 'adze' tablets from W Magazine VIII and perhaps also the 'sword' tablets from the Corridor of the Sword Tablets. The scribes responsible for the proposed archive were

117, 119, 124 and 141, possibly with the addition of scribes 105, 126, 132, 209, 216, 220 and 222. The total output of inscriptions by these scribes is 1628. The stratigraphy of the Knossos site in its later stages is far from secure but the evidence of the excavation documents suggests that all the above assemblages were contained in deposit that had as its source the destruction debris of the LM II/LM III A palace and lay directly upon its floors. However, to a greater or less degree, the debris had been redistributed in the early part of the LM III B period to form the makeup for the floor of the RP1 phase of the Reoccupation Period. It would appear that prior to its destruction, which may have taken place in early summer after the main wool harvest, the occupants of the LM III A palace were preparing for an attack.

Much the largest and most important of the remaining assemblages consists of the tablets recovered from the 'Great Inscriptions Deposit' in the N Entrance Passage (see Chapter 6). As in the assemblage from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, this contains tablets that have been assigned to a large number of classes. However, unlike all the assemblages allotted in this account to the early archive, the inscriptions are attributed to a large number of scribal hands - a total of 28 being recognised of which 15 are known only from the N Entrance Passage. The assemblage is strongly linked through its scribal hands with others that are widely distributed in the West Wing and N Front of the palace (Fig. 7.10B *and see* Table 7.6b and Fig. 7.8) and with the Armoury. After the N Entrance Passage, the most abundant assemblages are those from the Rooms of the Spiral Cornice and of the Saffron Gatherer, the Long Corridor and W Magazines VIII, XI and XV. The links between the assemblages from the N Entrance Passage and the nearby Rooms of the Spiral Cornice and of the Saffron Gatherer are close enough to suggest to Palmer (1963a, 207) that they had been derived from the same deposit.

Most of the tablets assigned here to the later archive were contained in deposit that rested upon floors assigned in this account to the RP1 phase of the 'Reoccupation' and in some cases were intimately associated with pottery of LM III B date. The date of the fire that baked the tablets remains uncertain, however, although there is evidence to suggest that it occurred in late summer during the LM III B period at a time when the palace was at peace.

It is possible that remnants of a third and still later archive survive, consisting of the tablets by the hands of scribes 138 and 139 found in the first few days of the excavation in the Room of the Clay Bath (Fig. 7.10B). The excavators' description of the finding of the tablets in the Room of the Clay Bath indicates that the deposit, which contained them, lay on an earth floor and consisted of the undisturbed destruction debris produced by the final fire on the site. If, as suggested above, the fire that affected the tablets of the early archive dated from the LM III A period, then the fire that baked the tablets in the Room of the Clay Bath must have been later. It was argued above (Chapter 3) that this was the fire that brought the RP2 phase of the 'Reoccupation' to a close.

The sealings

Sealings were an integral part of the bureaucratic process at Knossos and are widely distributed in the palace, usually, but not invariably, in conjunction with the Linear B inscriptions (Gill, 1967 and see Fig. 7.11). According to Weingarten (1988), most are direct object sealings, consisting of balls of clay pressed down directly on to the cords that bound the sealed objects, with smaller number of hanging nodules and combination nodules - a hanging nodule that was also pressed against the object. She noted (Weingarten, 1997) that in the post-LM IB period at Knossos, seal-use was 'non-intensive' and only rarely were there as many as three impressions from the same seal.

It is considered that, like the tablets, most of the sealings found in the palace were contained in fill or makeup material incorporated in the reconstructed 'palace' of the RP1 phase of the Reoccupation Period or in the repair work of the RP2 phase. This satisfactorily accounts for their wide dispersal and renders it unnecessary to picture the palace administrators conducting their business in such inappropriate places as the N Entrance Passage or the Grand Staircase and the ill-lit recesses of the EW Corridor and the Service Stairs in the Domestic Quarter where the sealing occurred in greatest abundance. Indeed, it is entirely possible that the palace bureaucracy was housed in dedicated buildings adjacent to the palace proper.

It is likely that many of the sealings were recovered by sieving, their curation was 'haphazard' (Gill, 1967, 60) and as a result their contexts are even less well defined than are those of the Linear B tablets. Thus, the suggestion by Weingarten (1997, 519-23) that two hanging nodules found in the Queen's Megaron were stamped by scribe 221must be treated with caution. The only tablets that Mackenzie mentions in his Daybook are those found under the late addition to the balustrade on the E side of the bathroom but whether these are by scribe 221 in not known. In the Megaron itself, the stratigraphy is uncertain but is probable that there were two deposits separated by a late floor. While the sealings and the tablets at this and other localities may be of the same date, this cannot be assumed.

If, as argued above, the Linear B inscriptions were mainly divided between two stratigraphically separate groupings, this is probably true also of the sealings. The non-intensive nature of the seal-use means that in only a few cases did sealings stamped by same seal occur at more than one location in the palace. Using data from Gill (1967), Weingarten (1997) cited two examples.

1. Sealings stamped by 'fine collared bitch' gem
   F 2 SW corner
   K 4; K 7 Magazine of the Jewel Fresco

K 12 Room 102[2]

Q 21 Doorway in S wall of Hall of Colonnades

Q 21 Room of the Egyptian Beans

2. Sealings stamped by 'Goddess with cup and orb' as appears on the 'clay matrix'

R1 upper EW Corridor

R 51 lower EW Corridor (2 examples)

R 54 Doorway in S wall of Hall of Colonnades (several)

Q 22 Room of Clay Signet

A fragment of a sealing, possibly from the Domestic Quarter, is by the same seal as four sealings in red clay, possibly burnt, that were found in W Magazine IV (Gill, 1967). The motif consists of 2 bulls, one inverted, with heads down and arranged with feet almost touching - the hind feet of each close to head of the other. The stratigraphy is too uncertain for these few occurrences to have significance.

Weingarten (1988) compared the composition of the assemblages of sealings according to their types in the East and West Wings and the Room of the Chariot Tablets. She noted that the sealing practice was completely different from that in the LM I B period, the assemblage being dominated by direct object sealings. There were also significant numbers of Class XII combination nodules, a type that is almost unknown outside Knossos. The ratio of Class VI to direct object sealings in the East Wing is the reverse of that in the W Magazines. Weingarten did not comment on the fact that the assemblages

Table 7.16. The distribution of the sealings according to their class (after Weingarten, 1988).

	Class								
Find places	**IV**	**V**	**VIA/B**	**VI/X**	**VIII**	**XII/A**	**XII/B**	**Objects**	**Noduli**
RChT	1	1		2	1	1		2	
East Wing			24		2	6	3	69	1
West Wing			8		2			3	4

East Wing Upper and lower EW Corridor; Grand Staircase; Doorway S of Hall of Colonnades; the Wooden Stair; the Queen's Megaron

West Wing W Magazines IV, VIII, IX, XI, XV, XVIII

from the Magazines contained no Class XII sealings. According to her, the small group of sealings from the Room of the Chariot Tablets combined early and late features and she commented that 'a date of LM II or early in LM III A1 would suit very well'. It is possible that the sealings from the East Wing were mainly contained in deposits that were laid down during the reconstruction of the palace in the RP1 phase of the Reoccupation Period and are of earlier date than those in the W Magazines. If so, the differences in the overall composition of the assemblages may hint at a change in sealing practice following the destruction of the palace in the LM III A2 period.

[2] On plan of Hood and Taylor (1981).

The small finds

In the Daybooks for 1900 to 1902, Mackenzie from time to time fails to conceal a sense of disappointment at the absence of finds of high intrinsic value on a scale commensurate with a palatial context and such as Schliemann discovered in abundance at Mycenae. No intact objects made of gold, silver, ivory or precious stones, such as are listed in the Linear B tablets, were found. The fragmentary remains that were recovered, reported by Mackenzie in his Daybooks and Evans in his Notebooks, occurred at only a few locations, widely dispersed through the Palace. The gold commonly was in the form of foil, or was pierced with nail holes indicating that it had been applied to larger objects.

Many of the finds are so small that they might not have been detected if the excavators had not sieved the earth as it was removed from the ruins. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the deposit removed by the excavators in the 1900-2 campaigns had been thoroughly searched for precious objects at some date prior to the excavation, probably in antiquity. Some at least of the finds have a stratigraphical context that almost certainly consisted of infill, for example, those recovered from the floor-cists in the W Magazines, the Basement of the Loom Weights, the lustral basin in the Throne Room and the 'Drainhead' in the Domestic Quarter. These contexts are almost certainly not related to the final habitation at the palace but to earlier, more opulent phases. It is probable that none of the scraps of gold and ivory date from the Reoccupation Period and their occurrence may therefore be taken to indicate the presence of a fill deposit. This means that any inferences drawn regarding the function or status of the rooms in which they were discovered may not be valid.

In the list that follows, the finds are listed in the order in which they were reported.

Gold, ivory etc.

1. West Magazine III.
   '*Small sprinkling of gold globules*' **AE.1900:29**.
2. Antechamber of Throne Room.
   '*A little gold wire in chamber near bath* '. **AE.1900:29**.
3. Throne Room.
   '*A silver bracelet a good deal oxidised with a thin gold plate which may have surrounded it*'. **AE.1900:44**.
4. Loculus in Throne Room.
   '*a few fragments of tablets, porcelain bits and brilliant lapis lazuli and turquoise paste for inlaying, ivory box fragments, lots of crystal and a small bit of gold*'. (*see* Evans, 1935, fig. 34). **AE.1900:49**.
5. West Magazine V, 5th kasella from W
   '*a largish piece of crumpled gold foil*'. **AE.1901:04**.
6. West Magazine VI, 5th kasella from W.
   '*Piece of gold foil*'. **AE.1901:04**.

7. E of stairway of Long Gallery, near surface.
'*A small gold lion with filigree ornament*'. **AE.1900:6**; **D.1901/I:25**.

8. West Magazine XV.
'*Fragments of gold leaf*'. **D.1901/I:38**.

9. N Front, W of Lustral Basin.
'*A blue lapis lazuli cylinder with figures, encased at both ends by a gold disc. The gem was bored from end to end and had small bead ornament round the ends of the boring and round the centre of the gold discs*'. **D.1901/I:61**; **AE.1901:25**.

10. NE Magazines; Magazine 3.
'*A large quantity of gold leaf came out with carbonised wood. The wood may have formed the original foundation for a facing of gold leaf for some object*'. **D.1901/II:11**.

11. Corridor of Chessboard, 0.08m above paved floor.
'*The board has originally been laid on a wooden rest a little above the floor. Size about .92 x .50. The frame work mostly ivory and a cornice of blue enamelled plaster. The crystal plaques of rosettes backed with silver and set in ivory with fluted surface. The oblong crystals set in gold foil. . . . Gold ribs with fluted surface as the ivory*'. **AE.1901:43-4**.

12. The 'Drainhead', Domestic Quarter.
'*A large quantity of inlayings, ivory, crystal, gold leaf is being brought out similar to that of the chessboard*'. **D.1901/II:55**.

13. The 'Drainhead', Domestic Quarter.
'*Pieces of ivory inlaying and crystal*'. **D.1901/II:50**.

14. The 'Drainhead', Domestic Quarter.
'*A large number of fish-shaped tablets of ivory with signs on the back and traces of gold leaf adhering have been coming out*'. **D.1901/II:65; AE.1902:11**.

15. The 'Drainhead', Domestic Quarter.
'*Inlayings in ivory, bone?, porcelain*'. **D.1901/II:67**.

16. W branch of the 'Drainhead', Domestic Quarter.
'*Ivory roundels*'. **D.1901/II:63**.

17. Room of the False-spouted Jars.
'*Fragment of gold encasing, with three small nails in their holes*'. **D.1902/I:23**.

18. Upper EW Corridor.
'*A small figure in gold of a duck*'. **D.1902/I:28**; **AE.1901:22**

19. Upper EW Corridor.
'*A gold bead, plain*'. **D.1902/I:29**; **AE.1901:22**.

20. Basement of the Loom Weights (Area of Bull-relief and the Spiral-fresco). At 4.50 down.
'*2 gold objects, one engraved, in thin plate in shape like a rimmed hat with rounded top*'. **D.1902/II:7**.

21 Area of the Spiral-fresco.
'*Gold leaf with fern-like fronds on remains of wood*'. **AE.1902:53**; **D.1902/II:9**.

22. Area S of the Room of the W Seat.
'*A very small gold fish. The work was not solid but consisted of two separate sides of stamped gold plate joined together*'. **D.1902/II:19**.

23. Basement of the Loom Weights.
'*Branch motive in gold leaf and parts of the gold fittings of a small enamel vase*'. **D.1902/II:50**.

24. Space S of the Area of the Spiral-fresco.
'*A long twig or branch motive the branch being twisted round so as to form a very small coiled ring. The gold was solid and the indications of the branch outlined in relief*'. **D.1902/II:52.**

25. Near Corridor of Sword Tablets.
'*gold plate with minute gold nails*'. **AE.1902:37.**

26. The Lair
'*A gold heart*' (*see* Evans, 1902, fig. 34). **AE.1902:71.**

27. The Long Corridor
'The Kaselles of Series A contained . . the usual remains of gold foil'. Evans, 1903, 31.

Chapter 8

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Evans (1921, 29) claimed that 'In the case of the excavations at Knossos a constant endeavour has been made to apply geological methods so that the sequence here adopted rests on a mass of stratigraphical evidence'. His assistant Mackenzie was a capable excavator, with experience gained while excavating at Phylokapi on Melos (Momigliano, 1999, chapter 2). He had a sound grasp of stratigraphical principles, as is shown in passages scattered through his Daybooks, and was acquainted with the kinds of deposit liable to be encountered in the course of an excavation. He was able, at least in theory, to draw a distinction between an undisturbed destruction deposit resting on floor and the unstratified material that constitutes a fill or makeup deposit. Why, then, has the stratigraphy of the Palace been the subject of vigorous, not to say acrimonious debate for more than four decades without any real sign of a final resolution?

When Mackenzie arrived on site on 23 March 1900, digging had already commenced. No pre-excavation survey of the site had been carried out although architectural remains were visible in places, especially on the S side of the site where blocks in the upper parts of walls have a well developed cover of lichen. No provision had been made for the curation and storage of finds. Undoubtedly the fact that Mackenzie was the only archaeologist in charge of an initially completely untrained workforce at times numbering more than 200 was largely to blame for the poor quality of the early excavations and the poverty of the excavation records.

Despite the primitive techniques employed, an acceptable result might nevertheless have been achieved if the stratigraphy of the site had been straightforward. However, on more than one occasion, new palaces had been constructed over the ruins of their predecessors, reusing their foundations and fallen blocks and in places incorporating their best-preserved elements. Evans and Mackenzie were well aware of the complexity of the site and in later campaigns, expended much effort in investigations beneath the floors of what they considered to be the Last Palace in an attempt to elucidate the stratigraphy of the earlier structures. The majority of these still lie concealed and modern excavation has already shed light on their stratigraphical relations and no doubt will continue to do so in the future. However, as far as the final building phases are concerned, the damage has already been done. Evans' first three campaigns had cleared all the deposit from what was adjudged to be the Last Palace, leaving as a record only the notebooks maintained by Mackenzie, Evans and Fyfe, a few hundred photographs and a meagre selection of pottery, inscriptions and other finds, many of uncertain provenance.

In view of the imperfect record available, Haskell (1989, 110) argued that 'Redigging Knossos through a re-excavation of Evans's and Mackenzie's notebooks is not productive'. According to him 'The basic flaw in this approach is that the stratigraphic evidence at Knossos is so hopelessly confused that one can come up with virtually any reconstruction of events at the Palace'. He reinforced his argument by pointing out that Palmer and Boardman had arrived at a completely different chronology for the stages that were associated with the Linear B tablets. He advocated an approach that involved an examination of all the relevant evidence regarding the social and economic events in Crete outside of Knossos, without any regard for which Knossian chronology it might support, before returning to the Palace to see how these results might be reflected by events there. Predictably, having carried out a survey of selected economic indicators in Crete as a whole, Haskell was forced to conclude that, in order to define the relations of the late palace at Knossos with the rest of Crete, its chronology must first be determined.

In the terms stated, Haskell's pessimism regarding the excavation documents is perhaps justified. However, researches into the stratigraphy of the palace by Woodard (1972), Hallager (1977), Mirié (1979) and Raison (1988) had already shown that by combining analysis of the excavation documents with detailed examination of the archaeological remains important new evidence and insights could be obtained. In particular, from his study of the W Magazines, Hallager argued that, in the period following the destruction of LM III A date, these had been restored to full functionality - a conclusion that cannot readily be reconciled with Evans' concept of a reoccupation by squatters. However, for the reconstructed buildings to qualify for full palatial status, it is necessary to demonstrate that the bureaucratic process had resumed. Herein lies the problem. According to the single archive concept advanced by Palmer, if any of the Linear B tablets at Knossos were assigned to the reinstated palace, then they must all be, improbably leaving none that could be allotted to the palace destroyed in the late LM III A period.

A possible escape from the dilemma is suggested by the work of Driessen (1989; 1990a; b) who argued that the inscriptions from the Room of the Chariot Tablets formed an assemblage that was isolated from the rest and were contained in an earlier stratigraphical context. Ironically, in view of Haskell's remarks, the stratigraphy of the Room as reconstructed by Driessen, purely on the basis of the evidence of the excavation documents, may well be incorrect and his proposed dating for the tablets to the LM II period suspect. Olivier (1994) and Owens (1999) without reservations accepted Driessen's view that the inscriptions from the Room of the Chariot Tablets were earlier though they disagreed somewhat about their date. Crucially, subdivision of the archive means that some tablets can be attributed to a fire-destruction of the LM III A period, while others can be assigned to a later phase.

During the present study, a detailed examination of the ruins of the entire palace was carried out. It became apparent that the manner in which scorchmarks were distributed on walls and floors constituted important stratigraphic evidence that had not been taken into account by previous researchers. A study of the excavation documents quickly revealed their shortcomings. Especially in relation to the remains uncovered in the early campaigns, the excavators' descriptions are rarely explicit, the relationship between structural elements in many cases was not determined or not described and the heights of floors, despite their acknowledged value for the stratigraphy, are given in general terms only. Nevertheless, in the excavator's records there is much useful information although in some cases this is implicit rather than stated The vagueness and ambiguities of the written evidence are to some extent offset by the 200 or so photographs that show the palace remains in the course of or shortly after excavation and indicate which structures at present visible are more or less in their original condition. Some photographs show in detail structures and features that are scarcely mentioned by Evans and Mackenzie, including the presence or, in some cases, the absence of scorchmarks on walls and floors.

The evidence of the excavation documents, the photographs and the surviving architectural remains implies a more elaborate stratigraphy than had been supposed for the period of habitation - that is, the so-called Reoccupation Period - that followed the destruction by fire of the 'Last Palace' of Evans. However, in order to determine the starting point of the 'Reoccupation Period', it was necessary to identify the fire-damaged structures that constituted the building destroyed by the LM III A conflagration. According to Evans' definition, any structures that post-dated those of the 'Last Palace' must belong to the 'Reoccupation Period'.

The stratigraphical sequence is clearest in the W Magazines area. Here, after a fire that can with some confidence be dated to late in the LM III A period on the basis of the pottery, the occupants cleared the magazines of destruction debris down to pavement level. They repaired some of the fire-damaged floor cists, inserted buttresses to support upper storey structures and stripped away burnt gypsum wall linings, replacing them with painted plaster and laid a new floor. The composition of the floor varied. In the Long Corridor and in Magazines VII to XII, it consisted of gypsum slabs, some of which are still in place, but in Magazine XIII the new floor was of plaster. The paving slabs were of coarsely crystalline gypsum rather than the fine-grained laminated variety common in earlier phases. Some slabs have been patched, possibly in antiquity, with salvaged pieces of burnt gypsum. A special investigation in W Magazine XII, carried out by Mackenzie in 1923, proved that paving slabs of the upper pavement there covered the stumps of the wall linings, which in turn were related to the earlier gypsum pavement.

According to Hallager (1977), this new floor, which shows no signs of having been affected by fire, was laid in the last part of the LM III A period. However, the arguments advanced by Palmer in favour of a date for the floor of LM III B appear soundly based and are accepted here. As the new floor post-dates the fire, it must, by Evans' definition, be a structure of the 'Reoccupation'. However, although interpretation of the succession in the Magazines would seem to be straightforward, Evans and Mackenzie disregarded the evidence of the burnt level beneath the upper paved floor in the W Magazines. Instead, Evans assigned the later, unburnt floor, along with others in a similar stratigraphical position elsewhere on the site, to the 'Last Palace', thereby laying the foundations of the present controversy.

The precise reasons for Evans' decision are not known. Nowhere in his Daybooks did Mackenzie record that the gypsum forming the slabs of the cists, the lower paved floor and the early doorjambs were thoroughly altered as a result of burning. Evans indeed noted that the cists in W Magazine IV (Evans 1901, 48) and others (Evans 1903, 28-9) had been burnt. He concluded that some cists were in use when fire destroyed the 'Last Palace'. He considered that the burning of other cists and the laying over them of a new pavement occurred during the lifetime of the Palace. It must be assumed that the discovery of this well preserved pavement, with its superincumbent deposit that contained Linear B tablets and sherds of Palace Style pottery [1], conformed precisely to their expectation of what a palace should consist. Neither excavator, it would seem, considered the possibility that the deposit, which enclosed the storage jars that lined the magazine walls, was other than a destruction deposit. Certainly there is no indication that they, or indeed anyone else, regarded as paradoxical the fact that a deposit formed when the palace was destroyed by fire should have come to rest in room-spaces that were floored with unburnt gypsum slabs and still had coloured plaster on their walls. The excavators gave no reason for the survival of the ceilings in at least two magazines and suggested no mechanism to account for the presence of 'destruction' deposit that completely filled the space beneath them. They apparently saw no need to explain why the pithoi in magazines such as XI and XII were in almost mint condition (Figs. 5.22H) whereas in Magazine XIII all were broken (**D.1901/I:46**).

It is possible that Evans was predisposed to attribute palatial status to structures on the basis of value judgements, that is, stone pavement equals palace, even when it involved disregarding the stratigraphical evidence. Whatever the reason, by assuming that the latest paved floors in the magazines, like those elsewhere on the site, belonged to the 'Last Palace' and were covered by

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[1] '. . . *what in the way of pottery exists, apart from the pithoi themselves, has been always in the shape of fragments of very finely painted Mycenaean ware of the mature period (Palace Style)'.* **[D.1901/I:18-19]**.

the fall deposit of its final destruction, rather than fill introduced as packing material, as suggested in this account (Chapter 5), Evans compacted two 'palatial' phases into one. To defend his stratigraphical interpretation, Evans was forced to reject the evidence of a scattering of LM III B sherds found in the deposits beneath the later pavements. The earlier of the two phases, its cists, paving stones, doorjambs and dado-stumps blackened by the fire of LM III A, is the 'Last Palace' that accords with his own definition. The unburnt structures of the later 'palatial' phase - that is the 'Last Palace' of Palmer and Hallager, which is mainly or entirely of LM III B date - must be assigned to the 'Reoccupation Period' as defined by Evans. In this account these structures have been provisionally referred to the RP1 phase - that is the early phase of the 'Reoccupation Period' (*see* Table 8.1). Their distribution, as inferred from the evidence of the surviving remains and the excavation documents, is plotted on Fig. 8.1. Their

Table 8.1. Summary of the late stratigraphy of the palace at Knossos

<table>
<tr><th>Stratigraphy of Evans</th><th>Stratigraphy of Palmer</th><th>Stratigraphy in this account</th><th>Ceramic periods</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="2"></td><td>RP3 Phase</td><td>?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Destruction of LM III B date</td><td rowspan="3">LM III B</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">'Reoccupation Period'</td><td rowspan="3">?

'Last Palace'</td><td>RP2 phase</td></tr>
<tr><td>RP1 phase</td></tr>
<tr><td>'Final destruction'</td><td colspan="3">Destruction of LM III A2 date</td></tr>
<tr><td>'Last Palace'</td><td>'Penultimate Palace'</td><td>LP Phase</td><td>LM III A</td></tr>
</table>

quality and widespread occurrence is consistent with Palmer's claim that a fully functional palace had been constructed over the ruins of the palace destroyed in the later part of the LM III A period.

It is reasonable to suppose that the makeup deposits of the RP1 floors consisted largely of destruction debris that had been cleared from the ruins of the earlier palace. Although the stratigraphy proposed in this account is to some extent speculative, there are reasonable grounds

for supposing that these makeup deposits were host to the important assemblages of Linear B tablets found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, the nearby Lobby of the Stone Seat and the EW Corridor area (Table 8.2). Arguably, the 'sword' tablets from the Corridor of the Sword Tablets and the 'adze' tablets from W Magazine VIII are from deposits at the same stratigraphic level. Taken together, the assemblages display a number of common features - they are mostly by a single scribal hand and only rarely do tablets by the main author occur at any other locality. It is considered that the inscriptions that constitute this 'early' archive were preserved as a result of the fire that destroyed Evans' 'Last Palace' (Chapter 7).

Table 8.2. Summary of the stratigraphical relations proposed for the Linear B archives

Stratigraphy in this account	Linear B archives	Scribes	Ceramic periods
RP3 Phase			?
Destruction by fire			LM III B
RP2 phase	Last archive - RCB	138, 139	
Earthquake damage + fire			
RP1 phase	'Later' archive - NEP, RoSC RoSG, W Magazines	101, 102, 103, 106, 113, 115, 118, 135, 136, 207, 224 etc.	
Destruction by fire/invasion of LM III A2 date			
LP Phase	'Early' archive - RChT, LoSS, WM8, EWC, CSwT	117, 119, 124, 141, 105, 126, 132, 209, 216, 220, 222	LM III A

Palmer and Hallager were concerned to show that palace life had continued into the LM III B period and their treatment of the late structures of inferior quality that Evans had attributed to 'squatters' was not comprehensive. As a result, their publications provide only limited information about events that affected their 'palace' in the interval between its construction and its destruction by fire in the LM III B period. To some extent the hiatus can be bridged as a result of the systematic survey of the late structures carried out in the present study. Many of these were recognised, described and, in a few cases, photographed by the excavators; others can be inferred from their documents. Thus a reference in these to a late wall that failed to reach down to the paved floors of the palace must mean that the wall was founded in deposit that

covered these floors and had connected with it a floor or ground surface at a higher level. Examples of previously unrecognised floors, of earth or paved but robbed in antiquity, occur in the South Propylaeum, the small rooms attached to the NE Hall, the Light Well of the Queen's Megaron and the North Pillar Hall (Chapters 3, 4 and 6). Unfortunately, only in the case of the W crosswall in the South Propylaeum, which yielded LM III B pottery, is there ceramic evidence that proves that such structures post-date the destruction of the palace by fire in the LM III A period.

Many of the late structures, including the late walls in the S Propylaeum, the W Magazines area, the N Entrance area and the Court of the Stone Spout, were photographed prior to their removal. However, a number of late structures escaped the attention of the excavators. Consisting mainly of earth floors, these have been recognised for the first time on the evidence of scorchmarks on surviving walls, mostly of ashlar masonry, that had not been covered by plaster. The burnmarks are commonly confined to the upper part of the walls, leaving an unburnt zone up to 0.60m high at the base where the wall was protected by the makeup of the floor. Notable examples of such floors are the late ramp in the N Entrance area and the unrecognised floor that led to the preservation in colour of the lower part of the fresco that had covered both walls of the Corridor of the Procession. So widespread are the scorchmarks that, in situations where they ought to be present, as in the W Magazines (Chapter 5) and the Unexplored Mansion (Appendix 7), their absence takes on significance. In both these localities, although the deposit is clearly the product of destruction by fire, the pavements and walls show no signs of scorching. It has been inferred that debris produced in an earlier destruction has been introduced as packing to support walls and ceilings that were threatened with collapse.

The poor quality late structures recognised by Evans and attributed by him to the Reoccupation Period have in this account been allotted to the RP2 phase, as have the structures described for the first time in this account. Scorchmarks occur in association with only a minority of the structures but it may be presumed that they were all in place when fire swept through the palace site later in the LM III B period. They are ubiquitous, occurring in places, such as NE Hall area, where no structures of the RP1 phase have been recognised and it would appear that the buildings destroyed by the LM III A fire were not immediately restored in all cases. Many of the RP2 structures were in the form of buttresses designed to strengthen the walls of an existing building. Less obvious are the cases where measures were taken to support upper storey rooms, as in the Domestic Quarter, the W Magazines area and the Throne Room complex. It has been argued that in these areas the ground floor rooms had been packed with earth (Chapters 4 and 6) - a cheap and effective means of staving off total collapse of buildings that were up to three storeys in height.

There are a few independent structures, such as the Room of the Clay Bath, which may belong to the RP2 phase. Otherwise, it would appear that most of the structures of this date were applied directly to the existing RP1 palace in order to prolong its life. There is no evidence that there was a significant hiatus in the occupation of the site in the period prior to the emplacement of the structures of the RP2 phase or that the RP2 phase was preceded by a major destruction. It is possible that the RP2 structures were made necessary by the gradual deterioration of the fabric of the RP1 palace. However, the structures are so widespread and of such uniform character and purpose, that it is tempting to believe that they were remedial works carried out in response to a specific event and it has been suggested above that this was of seismic origin.

Despite their ramshackle quality, the RP2 structures are so extensive (Fig. 8.2) that a well-organised work force of considerable size must have been involved in their construction. It is evident that the accommodation available to the inhabitants in the RP2 phase, although much diminished when compared with that of previous phases, was still substantial. Admittedly, most of the storage space provided by the W Magazines had perforce been sacrificed. However, many of the floor-cists had not been restored after the fire of LM III A and it may be that the requirement for storage had diminished or that alternative storage was made available in the S Propylaeum, the South Basements, the Schoolroom area and elsewhere (Popham, 1964). That the occupants of the site were still concerned with the dispersal of rainwater from the site is evident from the elaborate drain constructed in the Room of the Stone Drainheads in the RP2 phase.

Taken as a whole, the works of the RP2 phase seem to have been aimed at prolonging the life of an existing palatial establishment. If this were the case, it would not be unreasonable to infer that the palace secretariat had continued to function during the RP1 phase and perhaps also in the RP2 phase. In fact, most of the later inscriptions were found in association with the structures of the RP2 phase. In some cases, as with the Great Inscriptions Deposit in the N Entrance Passage, the tablets were found alongside LM III B pottery. In others, as in the W Magazines, the tablets were from deposits that rested on floors from beneath which LM III A2 pottery had been recovered. The tablets of this later archive are widely dispersed but are strongly linked with one another through their scribal hands and without doubt were baked in the same conflagration. However, it is clear that the tablets for the most part did not occur in undisturbed destruction deposit resulting from the fire that ended the RP2 phase. Thus, in some cases, the tablets were contained in the makeup deposits of the RP2 floors or beneath RP2 blocking structures. In the W Magazines, the deposit with tablets infilled rooms whose floors and wall plaster showed no signs of fire-damage. It would appear, therefore, that the tablets of the 'later' archive were baked at some time in the period between the conflagration that destroyed the 'Last Palace' of Evans and that which brought the RP2 phase to a close. It is not unreasonable to link this fire with the event

that damaged buildings of the RP1 phase and triggered the emplacement of the works of the RP2 phase.

From an examination of the 'early' inscriptions from the Room of the Chariot Tablets which concerned military equipment, it was argued above that the tablets were written while the palace inhabitants were in the process of fitting out a force of some 100 chariots. That the palace occupants were anticipating receiving rather than planning an attack is suggested by their evident state of unpreparedness and the eventual outcome. By contrast, the tablets from the 'later' archive that catalogue chariots give no hint of an imminent attack. Whatever caused the widespread damage to the palace that led to the installation of the RP2 structures was unexpected and it is tempting to attribute a seismic origin to it, although there is no evidence in the way of cracked or distorted walls to support this. If an earthquake occurred after dark, while the scribes were transferring data by the light of oil lamps from the clay tablets to more convenient but combustible permanent records, this might account for the fire which baked the tablets.

At least part of the 'later' archive was maintained in the Armoury which lay at a distance of at least 75m outside the palace proper. If it had become the established practice to carry out the bureaucratic process in buildings that were separate from the palace, perhaps in response to the loss of the entire archive in the fire of LM III A, this would explain the absence of signs of burning in the rooms where the tablets were eventually recovered by excavation. Once incorporated in the destruction debris the tablets would be dispersed to wherever there was a requirement for material to use for fill or makeup, thereby severing the links between the locations where the tablets were housed at the time they were baked and their find places. This would help to account for the distribution of the inscriptions, which does not conform to any logic, with many tablets of both archives occurring in passageways or ill-lit corners of the palace.

An early LM III B date for the tablets of the 'later' archive seemed to be indicated when it was claimed that tablets at Khania had been written by the Knossian scribe 115 (Olivier, 1993; 1994). The claim, which would have supported the case that the 'early' archive was linked with the RP1 phase of the Reoccupation, was soon withdrawn (Olivier, 1996) but the similarities in the handwriting may mean that the Chaniote scribe was trained at Knossos.

There can be no doubt that the fire-destruction that ended the RP2 phase took place in the LM III B period. Storage jars found in the South Propylaeum, the South Basements and the E Wing were considered by Popham (1964) to be of advanced LM III B character and indicated a date for the destruction in the second half of the 13th century. In most parts of the palace there is

evidence of this conflagration. However, the only tablets that might date to the destruction, thus supporting the case that the bureaucratic process was maintained during the RP2 phase, are those discovered in the first few days of the excavation, enclosed in carbon-ash deposit, lying on an earth floor at a depth of less than 0.70m below the surface in the Room of the Clay Bath. It is suggested that these tablets, by the hands of scribes 138 and 139, are the last surviving documents to have been written at the palace site at Knossos. After the fire that destroyed the RP2 establishment, the rubble walls of the RP3 phase were constructed in the area adjacent to the N Entrance Passage (Fig. 8.3). Unfortunately the excavators provided no evidence for their date.

The present study has shown the later history of the palace site at Knossos to be more complicated than has previously been suggested. There is a measure of agreement that the palace constructed over the ruins of the LM I Palace was built by Greek-speaking invaders from the mainland (e.g. Chadwick, 1973; Haskell, 1981; Hood, 1985; Popham, 1994; Dickinson, 1996; Renfrew, 1996; Driessen and Macdonald, 1997) as they strove for control of the lucrative eastern Mediterranean trade routes (Barber, 1987). It is probable that the new overlords used Cretan labour and economised on construction costs by reusing materials salvaged from the earlier palace. From their characteristic shapes and the mason's marks incised on them, a practice that died out in LM I (Hood, 1987), most of the large dressed blocks visible on site date from the LM I period or earlier. There is little evidence for a major input of freshly quarried stone other than of gypsum slabs for paving and perhaps wall linings. Clearly the incoming regime considered that the rapid restoration of the palace as an administrative centre was of greater importance than the quality of its architecture. It is presumed that the new masters retained the Minoan secretariat while their Linear A script was adapted for the writing of Greek.

It has been argued on the evidence of the Linear B archive that when the palace was destroyed by fire late in the LM III A period its occupants were readying themselves for an attack. This may have been an uprising on the part of a subject Cretan population although the possibility that the attack was a response to an attempt on the part of the new Greek overlords of the island to free themselves from mainland control cannot be ruled out. Whichever was the case, there is no evidence for a major change in the administrative process at Knossos when the palace was reconstructed at the end of LM III A or in the earliest LM III B period. Later in the LM III B period, extensive works were carried out on the fabric of the palace to repair damage most probably resulting from an earthquake. The bureaucratic process was apparently resumed to an unknown extent and continued in the patched-up buildings until the final destruction later in the LM III B period. According to this interpretation of the late history of habitation at Knossos there is no place for a 'reoccupation by squatters' although it is consistent with Evans'

alternative suggestion whereby 'dynasts of the old stock still maintained a diminished state on the Palace site'.

The conclusions as summarised above have important consequences regarding the nature of the administrative process on Crete in the last centuries of the Bronze Age. Catling and others (1980) argued for the presence of a bureaucratic centre at Khania on the evidence of Linear B texts inscribed on stirrup jars of LM III B date that were found at mainland Greek sites but, from the composition of their clays, had originated mainly in west Crete. However, they were reluctant to accept the situation whereby the destruction of the Palace at Knossos in LM III A meant that administrative activity had ended there, leaving Khania as the sole bureaucratic centre. Instead, they considered that the effect of their investigation was to weaken the case for an exclusive link between the Linear B archive at Knossos and its destruction in LM III A2.

The case made by Hallager (1987) for the contemporaneous operation of bureaucratic centres at Knossos and Khania is enhanced by the discovery at the latter site of the tablets by a scribe whose handwriting bears some resemblance to that of the Knossian scribe 115 (Hallager and others, 1992). However, it is not as yet known when the centre at Khania was first instituted or if it continued to operate in the later LM III B period after the repair works at Knossos had been completed. It is perhaps significant that, according to Hallager (1987, 187), the last Cretan workshop which produced vases with Linear B inscriptions was at Knossos. It may be that in the later part of the LM III B, until the final destruction, Knossos continued to exert administrative control over the whole of Crete, possibly delegating local authority to 'second-order' centres.

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